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MANAGING FREEDMEN IN THE NEWLY LIBERATED SOUTHERN STATES.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I beg to quote again from the Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture to Congress for last year, upon the experience of managing freedmen in the newly liberated Southern States and the effect of working upon shares there. The rent of farms is sometimes agreed to be paid in money, but generally in a stipulated portion of the crop, usually one-third. In parts of Texas, one-fourth of cotton, and one-third of grain crops, is a common rent. In some parts of Tennesee, as in Polk County, more farms are taken for rent than on shares. It is asserted that persons renting good lands "at halves" often do better than to get two-thirds of the produce of poor farms.

Great diversity has existed in the form and character of contracts; generally, working upon shares is the favorite and most successful mode. Few freedmen have means to provision themselves, and exceedingly rare are the cases in which they can obtain credit for any supplies whatever. Therefore, whether they engage to furnish rations with their labor, or furnish half of the feed for horses or mules, these supplies are all charged, the aggregate to be deducted from their share of gross returns. The mode of contracting preferred in 1867, in South Carolina, required the payment of one-third of the crop to the laborer who furnished his own rations. A similar arrangement was common in Georgia, where also many plantations were rented for half, all expenses to be borne equally by planter and laborer. In some parts of Florida, labor was furnished with all supplies except clothing, and paid one-fourth of the crop, or one-third of the crop without rations. In Marengo County, Alabama, a region of fine plantations, one-fourth for labor is the rule, or one-third without rations; and similar rates are offered for the cultivation of other rich soils in Alabama, Mississippi and further West, while somewhat better terms are given to labor in less productive locations. In Amite, Mississippi, labor and board are made equivalent to farm and stock; in Greenville, Mississippi, one-fourth is paid for labor, one-third for labor furnishing its own supplies, and one-half if the expense of forage is shared by the laborer; in the vicinity of Louisville, three-tenths of the crop is given for labor; on the Yazoo river one-fourth of the whole or gross product is paid for labor and furnished with rations; in Tippah, Mississippi, the farm tools and stock are an equivalent for labor, rations and feed.

It has been declared by representative Southern men, that negro labor is the best on the Continent. It is best in the South at present, because, rude as it may be, it is almost the only skilled labor for cotton culture.

The following from a letter of R. H. Springer, Carroll County, Georgia, furnishes another illustration of the benefits derived from judicious management of coöperative freedmen:

In 1866 I employed freedmen, and gave them one-third of all that was made. I furnished everything—land, tools, horses, seed, &c., but I found that was hardly enough, although they worked well.

"In 1867 I gave them one-half, and only furnished the land and stock, and fed the stock, they being at all other expense. They repair my fences, clean out my ditches, and keep the plantation in good order. This plan worked well. My plantation looks better than ever before, the freedmen work better, and make an abundance to supply themselves and families. I am at but little trouble, and if anything, they are working better this year than ever. They repair and keep up the plantation at times when they would do nothing else; therefore it is no expense to them but labor, and a great saving to me. I will add that this plan is being rapidly adopted by the farmers of this country. Freedmen would do much better if there were not so many villains prowling over the country, seeking to swindle the negroes out of their hard earned wages. I cultivate cotton at the cost of 10 cents per pound, getting four bales per hand, beside grain, peas, potatoes, and other crops."

It should be remembered that failures in the South have been more numerous than successes among whites, as shown by the same returns. The difficulties to be encounted have been not only worms, excessive rains, draughts, floods, and fields over-run with pernicious growths of neglected years, but inexperience in business calculations. Instances enough of thrift and foresight could be adduced to refute the proposition that the race is and must be incapable of business management, when time and opportunity for such practical education shall be enjoyed; and if there are any ambitious enough to brave the risk, with money enough to make a commencement, they should be permitted the trial, but the hands generally should be encouraged to work for fair wages until they can test their ability to manage for themselves, at least to the extent of economizing their earnings, and saving a surplus for the contingency of the future in a life of freedom. In reading the report of the commissioner, although evidently tinged with a little prejudice against the colored race, there is abundant evidence to show that the experiment of giving entire freedom to all the colored men of this country has not been productive of any bad results, and that the multitudinous good which has been done within the past four years, will have its effect, sooner or later, in a similar experiment, in all other countries where slavery still exists.

Very respectfully,

HANS POWELL, M. D.,
184 East Broadway, New York City.

THE INDIANS.

From the Friends' Intelligencer.

The interest which most of our readers feel in the subject warrants us in devoting considerable space to the Indian question.

The following communication by one of the delegates from the Representative Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, who has recently returned from Washington, has been received, and though some of the facts may not be new to our subscribers, we think it best to present them. We learn from the daily papers that at the time of this writing all the nominations have been confirmed by the Senate except two; and this failure does not arise from any doubt as to the fitness of the applicants:

On the 17th instant, delegations from the Representative committees of Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings, met in convention in the City of Baltimore, at Lombard Street Meeting-house, with the Representative Committee and the Indian Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, to deliberate upon the names of Friends proposed for the position of Indian agents, in compliance with the request of President Grant.

After careful consideration, the following named Friends were united with for the purpose, and a delegation appointed to wait upon the President and inform him of our conclusion.

Samuel M. Janney for *Superintendent*,

For Agents.—Asa M. Janney, Edward Painter, Jacob M. Troth, Howard White, Albert L. Green, Thomas Lightfoot, I. G. Tyson, Edward Swayne.

This delegation visited Washington on Second-day morning, the 19th instant, by the early train. They were promptly admitted to an interview with Secretary Cox of the Interior, who named an early hour, to meet our worthy President. Punctual to the hour, we were soon admitted, and presented a short address suited to the occasion, signed by the delegation, with the names of the Friends chosen for the service of Superintendent and Agents, which was read by our friend, Benjamin Hallowell. The President stated in reply that our request for a Superintendency would be complied with, and that Secretary Cox would inform us of their conclusion the next morning at 9 o'clock. At the hour appointed a portion of the committee met the Secretary, who informed them that they had assigned to us the charge of the Northern Superintendency, which being entirely satisfactory, we took our departure.

We thought it right to make this statement of facts upon a subject which claims so largely the interest and sympathy of Friends. Should the nominations which have been placed before the Senate be confirmed, a field will be presented for arduous labor among this people.

We trust the sympathy of Friends will be extended in every useful way towards the Indians and the few who go forth bearing precious seed in this great work. We are not sanguine of results, only trustful in the Divine Power for guidance and protection, and we must not be disappointed should difficulties and discouragement assail us.

We have to acknowledge the prompt kindness of all the officials with whom we came in contact. Besides our interviews with the President and Secretary Cox, we were cordially received by General Parker, the newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Commissioner Taylor, who preceded him, Charles E. Mix, the efficient Chief Clerk of the Indian Department, and Senators Cattell, Howard and Sumner.

There are a number of the Chiefs of the Choctaw, Cherokees, and other civilized tribes of Indians now in Washington, presenting their claims for money due them by the Government. By their invitation we met them in their council chamber in the Patent office building, on Second-day evening. The meeting was opened by our friend, Benjamin Hallowell, who read to them some account of our efforts in behalf of the Indians, after which several addresses were made by different chiefs and the members of the delegation. They spoke of the great trials to which their people have been and still are subjected, and that they only asked now that the monies due should be paid to them, and that they should be protected in their possessions.

They are noble looking, dignified, and educated men. They further said that with the advance of civilization they were increasing in population, which fact is a contradiction of the often repeated theory that the Indian race must become extinct otherwise than by absorption and citizenship. One aged chief said that they wanted us as a Christian nation to comply with the requirements of our religion, by simply doing to them as we would they should do to us.

The hereditary bond of union between the Indians and the Friends was alluded to; and with a feeling that it had been renewedly strengthened by the interviews, after a fraternal shaking of hands, we separated with a smile of mutual satisfaction. W.

PHILADELPHIA, 4th mo. 22d, 1869.

LAND MONOPOLY vs. THE PEOPLE—ABUSES OF THE TREATY-MAKING POWER.

Extract of a speech of HON. SIDNEY CLARKE, *of Kansas, in the House of Representatives, January,* 1869.

The House being in Committee of the whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. Clarke, of Kansas said:

Mr. Chairman: Our public land system is one of the best safeguards of the Republic. Whoever owns the land of a country, be they many or few, will in the end control its politics. It is the appreciation of this fact that has been the motive of many of the agrarian struggles and agitations in the past history of the world. Where the masses of the people own the soil, that country is strong to resist all external foes and to overcome much of internal dissension. Where the land is controlled by a minority, poverty will surely abound and the national vitality will be destroyed. France and England are good illustrations of this fact. If 1793, with all its terrors accomplished no more than to take the land from the oligarchy it overthrew and divide the same among the democracy it created, it gave to France a power which the banded armies of Europe could do no more than temporarily defeat. It found France a land of serfs and left it a nation of landholders. The transfer of the soil from the nobility to the people was the foundation of social equality.

Take Great Britain as an example of an opposite condition. Vast forces have cohered to hold her empire strong, in spite of the fatal malady which at home eats out its vitals. The capacity for colonization possessed by the English people has alone saved the English system from downfall. Land, denied at home, has been won by the Englishman abroad. Just in proportion as its occupation has been untrammeled the colonies of England have grown great.

But the landed monopoly, increasing at so fearful a rate during the last century, is the Nemesis which pursues the haughty oligarchy that still controls England and hastens the fate that sooner or later overtakes all governments and peoples who build injustice and rapacity into systems. All students of modern politics know, that in Europe, Great Britain has descended from a controlling to a second rate position. Were it not for her broad colonies, with their rich and free lands to lift teeming millions from poverty into comfort, affording markets for the products of the busy workshops at home, the crash in my judgment would have come long since. Twenty-five years before our war of independence the soil of England was in the possession of over three hundred and fifty thousand persons. To-day the land of Great Britain, with its thirty odd millions of inhabitants, is outside of its cities owned by about thirty-two thousand persons. The yeomanry of the mother country were transferred to these shores, and brought with them that grand ideal of the Anglo-Saxon brain, a free government upheld by willing obedience to law—a land in which each family could own its own home, and where the soil should be in the possession of those who cultivated it.

Sir, in our own midst we have had fearful examples of land monopoly. No portion of our country has escaped its destructive influences. North and South the great evil has appeared to bar the public prosperity and to crush the unfortunate and the poor. Just in proportion in each of the States that the soil has been opened to the tiller, just so far as labor has been able to possess its fruits, security has been stable and progress assured. The old slaveholders understood well the truth of this political axiom. They therefore steadily sought to obtain entire control of the soil in their own States, and as persistently hindered the development of that homestead policy into which the genius of our free institutions has molded our land system. At this moment the owners of the land in the South are striving, under the most fearful disadvantages, to maintain their control of the soil, confident if they can do so they will in the end resume a large share of the political power of this country. But they will fail. The land, like the slaves, will pass from their grasp It will become the home of freemen, and the land oligarchy, which is only a remnant of the slave system, will pass away forever.

To insure the success of democratic institutions we need not only general intelligence but conditions of life conducive to the comfort of all who live under them. The elder Napoleon once said, sententiously, "that an army traveled on its belly," meaning that it needed a good commissariat. So do free institutions. Civilization wins continued growth more by its capacity for securing the means of living well than by all else that it produces. Make labor honored and you are certain to make it intelligent. Out of such conditions true democracy, the normal type of all untrammeled political aspirations asserts itself. It is an understanding of these conditions which makes intelligent our admiration of our beneficent homestead policy and enables us to comprehend clearly the absolute necessity of guarding with jealous care its wise provisions from encroachment and overthrow. Sir, as it now stands, it is a proud monument of the liberality and sagacity of this great Republic. It is not only that, but, as cannot be too often repeated or too deeply impressed upon the public mind, especially upon those of us who are called to legislate on the subject, this homestead policy is one of the Republic's strongest safeguards.

And let it not be forgotton, Mr. Chairman, that to the Republican party, of which we have the honor in common with the large majority of this House to be members, belongs the honor of passing upon and almost perfecting the grand system of laws by which the public domains were wedded forever to the free homestead idea. Look for a moment at these two great facts; the gun at Fort Sumter had hardly woke a continent to arms ere their Representatives passed the acts by which the nation pledged itself to span the continent by the Pacific railroad and bind two oceans together in bonds that should never be severed. Within the eventful year that followed the Republican party passed the first homestead bill, and thus sealed the Republic forever, as with blood, to its highest hope and best ideal.

Mr. Chairman, it will be worth while briefly to note the path by which we traveled to this result. We shall see, in spite of the teachings of history, that we moved but slowly to that intelligent acceptance of an idea which has found so far one of its best embodiments in that homestead policy.

Our public land system dates from the cession to the General Government by the State of Virginia of the great northwest territory. From that date we can really declare that the American Union began its continental destiny, even though the first act of the General Government was a restrictive one; so far, at least, as related to the occupation of the public domain. I refer to the proclamation by Congress in 1785, forbidding settlement thereon. But the crude and wrong ideas that then prevailed on the subject could not resist the influence of that beneficent condition which was fundamental to the acceptance of this great territory. The Jeffersonian ordinance by which slavery was forever excluded from its borders rendered inevitable another great and desirable result, the possession of the soil by the people thereof. The six great States which have since been carved out of that two hundred and ninety thousand square miles of free territory, have now at least eight million inhabitants, all free, possessed of the means of education, and with ready access to the proper rewards of honest industry and intelligent enterprise.

We began our land system by forbidding settlement. We marked it about by sales of at least two huge tracts to private individuals and companies—I refer to the "Ohio Company" and the Symmes tracts, both in Ohio—and we followed this up in 1804 by the passage of an act that, like the proclamation of 1785, virtually forbade settlement. Nevertheless it went on. In 1807 the President was empowered to remove such persons until settlements were authorized by law. From that time until 1830, when the first general preëmption law was passed, the legislation of the country recognized the principle involved, that the land belongs to the settler, by the adoption of special acts of preëmption in individual cases. In 1830, in 1832, and 1834, laws were passed, general in their character but retrospective in action, giving to those who were already on the land and had labored there the right to preëmpt the same on certain conditions. The price was named and the quantity limited that any one head of a family could obtain. Before this the disposal of our public lands was altogether effected by public and private sales, without limitations of price or quantity, though land remaining unsold after a number of years was as now offered for sale at very small prices. In September, 1841, the first genuine step in the homestead policy was inaugurated by the passage of a preëmption act prospective in its character. This wise law laid bonds on the future. When the Republic needed aid, out of the society this principle had nurtured, came the sturdy regiments that captured Fort Donelson, stood granite-like amid the bloody surges of Pittsburg Landing, dashed themselves invincibly against the ramparts of Vicksburg, opened the great river from the Falls of St. Anthony to the New Orleans delta, poured their blood like water at Stone river and Chickamauga, rose above the clouds and stormed the rebel works on Lookout Mountain, fought like Titans from Chattanooga to Atlanta, marched with Sherman to the sea, drove Hood back from Nashville, swept through the Carolinas to where their great leader granted no respite to treason, and then, greatest wonder of all, marching homeward and melting away as they came into the great body of peaceful citizenship, graver, sterner, surer of a country, prouder of its fame, ready as before to die for it if need be, better citizens, and more faithful than ever to its laws and traditions.

From the passage of the act referred to in 1841, our legislation has been chiefly in one direction—that of a broader and more liberal recognition of occupation and labor and of limitation of quantity as the true basis of land-ownership. The preëmption acts of 1853-54 made stable that policy and corrected most of its errors and abuses. From the quarter of a century which followed the passage of the law of 1841 the discussion over a proposed homestead law grew more interesting, year by year attracting more and now of the public attention. Those who led in the fight for that beneficent measure against the resistance of southern oligarchy and northern speculators are still with us, and are entitled to the continued gratitude of the American people.

The homestead act was passed by the Thirty-Seventh Congress, at its first regular session. Since the war closed, and as a part of our reconstruction system, Congress has passed two others, by which about fifty million acres of public land, situated within the rebel States—long since left a prey to the land speculator—was placed under the operations of the homestead system, the limit of each farm being in this section wisely placed at eighty acres.

Mr. Chairman, the result of the homestead policy "whoso runs may read" in rapidly-growing communities, in populated States where a few years since the buffalo fled before the Indian, in increased wealth, and the laying deep the foundations of a wide-spread prosperity. From 1862, when the first homestead law went into operation, down to June 30th, 1867, the entries under the various acts have covered 7,000,000 acres, making a total of 43,750 farms of 160 acres each; supporting, according to the average rate of five persons to a family, a population of 218,750 souls. Within the late insurrectionary States the homestead entries, in less than two years, under the act passed for that section, have reached 3,764, an average of 225,840 acres with a population planted on the soil of 18,820 persons.

Sir, these results enable the merest tyro in political economy to understand the advantages of the homestead policy, so far as it affects the general prosperity and consequent stability of society. They show what might have been had the system been adopted earlier. They enable us to understand what is the true value of that domain we have given and are still proposing to give in such munificent grants. Let us look for a moment at what would or might have resulted had our public lands been from the beginning disposed of only to actual occupants of the soil. The entire area of the "public land" States and Territories, beginning with Ohio and ending with Alaska, is estimated at 1,834,998,400 acres, of which over 485,000,000 acres are surveyed, and therefore open to legal settlement. Of this vast body the Government since its organization has sold over 154,000,000 acres. Thirty million acres of this land are still in the hands of those who hold them for speculative purposes. If it had been placed under the homestead or preëmption system, it would have given us 187,500 homesteads of 160 acres each. It can hardly be a matter of doubt that if the circumstances had favored, as they now do, the whole would have been reduced to occupancy as farms.

Besides the 30,000,000 thus passed into the hands of monopolists, the Government has granted to Pacific railroads 124,000,000 acres: for other railroads, West and South, 57,000,000 acres; for canals 17,000,000 acres; to the States, and already selected as "swamp and overflowed land," over 60,000,000 acres. To these must be added the 9,600,000 acres granted to the States in aid of establishing agricultural colleges, most of which has been or will be sold by scrip, and thus pass into the hands of the land speculators. If we take these figures we shall find that the total amount of our public lands disposed of since the organization of the Government reaches the enormous aggregate of more than 420,000,000 acres, to which amount we must add that granted for military and naval services. Their aggregate reaches 71,716,555 acres, making the total disposed of 493,316,555. According to the able commissioner of the General Land Office of the surveyed public lands there remain undisposed of 64,880,952 acres.

Of the nearly five hundred million acres thus disposed of, we can safely say that the enormous aggregate of at least 225,000,000 acres, is in the hands of railroad companies and private speculators and monopolists. This probably considerably underestimate the total area so locked up. Properly settled under the homestead acts it would give a total of nearly one-and-a-half million farms of 160 acres each. Beside the various grants already named, by means of which so much of the public domain has been and is in process of being absorbed by speculators and monopolists, we are saddled with claims growing out of the Spanish system of land grants, which we have been obliged to recognize in our acquisitions of territory formerly held by Spain or Mexico. In California alone the recognized claims cover 5,690,500 acres, divided among 367 cases, giving an average of nearly 15,520 acres to each case. In New Mexico there are seventy claims allowed, of which only thirty-six are surveyed. These contain an area of 1,406,944 acres, or nearly 39,082 acres for each claim.

These startling figures, covering already one-sixth of the entire public domain, show the necessity of pausing in our land-grant policy. It is probable that the amount already asked for under various Pacific railroad enterprises will far more than double the figure, I have given.

Sir, there are many cogent reasons why the public domain should be made to contribute, by just processes, to the aid of great internal improvements, by means of which much of the vast territory of the Republic has been opened to industry and enterprise, but there can be none given to justify the disposal of those lands—a trust we hold for the world's poor—at private sale for private speculation. Still less justice is there in permitting, under the pretentious guise of the treaty-making power, the despoiling of the people's right in that portion of the public domain now occupied by Indians. That, however, has been done in my own State and elsewhere. At the last session of this Congress this House placed on that policy a mark of emphatic condemnation. Great tracts of valuable lands, fertile, accessible, and well located, have under the treaty system been ceded to speculators. It has been done in the secrecy of executive action at the other end of this Capitol, and clothes itself in the robes of a sovereign attribute of the Government.

Look for a moment at the pretense raised by such action, and wonder, Mr. Chairman, at the presumption of those who claim the exercise of such power to be legitimate. No Indian tribe has ever been admitted by this nation to have anything but a possessory title to lands in their occupancy. They have never had a power of sale conceded to them, nor could they make a treaty with any foreign nation or even sell their lands to private individuals. The reason is plain. The right of eminent domain rests in the Republic, and not in the Indians who may occupy a portion of the soil. The control of the public lands, by express terms of the Constitution, is delegated to Congress; not the treaty-making power, which consists of the President and Senate only. The Constitution says:

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States."

During the debate to which I have already referred as occurring at the last session it will be remembered that the honorable gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Lawrence) presented a very clear argument against this abuse of the treaty power, and with the valuable aid of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Butler) submitted a striking array of legal authorities in support of this position.

As a proof of the injury which this system inflicts, let me mention the fact that already about one-fortieth of the area of the State of Kansas has been ceded away to a few corporations and individuals by treaty, and there are treaties now pending which, if successful, will dispose of over one-ninth of the entire area of the State. In proof of the character of these immense land speculations, as indorsed by the Senate, let me submit here a table carefully prepared at the Interior Department, showing the amount of lands thus wrongly disposed of: * * * * *

By this schedule it appears that 1,771,350 acres of Indian land have been disposed of in Kansas in eighteen different divisions, a large proportion being to private individuals and not at all coupled with any pretense of benefiting the State by public improvements. A further examination of the table will show that of over one and three-quarter million acres disposed of under this abuse of the treaty power, nearly eight hundred thousand acres have passed into the hands of three individuals. But, sir, this is but a trifle beside a proposition to the character of which I called the attention of the House at its last session. I refer to the proposed Osage treaty.

The Osage lands in Kansas, ceded by the treaty of September 29th, 1865, amounted in all to 3,222,402 acres. The diminished reserve now occupied by the Osage tribe, which, however, is to be included under the operations of the proposed railroad treaty, covers an area of 7,470 square miles, or 4,780,800 acres; making a total area proposed to pass into the hands of speculators of not less than 8,003,203 acres of valuable lands. There is sufficient to make, under the operations of the preëmption laws, not less than 50,020 homesteads of 160 acres each. Allowing these to be occupied within the term the law allows for settlement, by families averaging five persons each, and we shall have a population of 250,100 souls on a tract it is now proposed to throw into the hands of a few men. About six million acres of these lands are arable, and nearly all is valuable for stock raising.

If we take the 1,771,350 acres already sold under this wrong interpretation of the treaty power and add thereto this last gigantic attempt to plunder the public domain, we shall find that within the State of Kansas alone, under this system, there has been actually or prospectively transferred from under the feet of the settler and farmer to the hands of the speculator and monopolist an aggregate area of 9,774,566 acres of land, fertile and valuable, all of it located in the most desirable situations in the State, whether we regard the fertility of soil, proximity to the principal water courses, or the present and prospective lines of railroad communication.

The whole amount of land thus passed or proposed to be into few hands would make 61,091 farms, of 160 acres each, thus affording homes to at least 300,000 persons. If we take the total amount paid or proposed to be, for this great body of lands we shall only have a total of $3,664,154, or an average price per acre of about thirty-six cents. The highest price paid under any of these treaty sales has been but $2.50 per acre—this, too, for lands worth in the market an average of ten dollars—while the lowest offer yet made has been but twenty cents an acre. Ever acre of this nearly ten millions could have been, within a reasonable period, sold to actual settlers at the regular preëmption price, who would have eagerly sought, as they have done under disadvantageous circumstances, to have obtained farms so favorably situated.

These lands were not needed for the construction of our railroads, the munificence of Congress having given to Kansas ample franchises to aid the construction of a system of roads commensurate with the importance of her position in the great interior continental railroad development of our day and generation. I say this deliberately, fully aware of the fact that I have in some degree contributed to the bestowal of these lands. The evil effect of this misuse of the treaty power has not been seen all at once. It needed that the speculators, grown reckless by success, should make the last bold attempt.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

LETTER FROM SENATOR WILSON TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

HON. HENRY WILSON, of the United States Senate, has addressed the following letter to Hon. John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War:

SENATE CHAMBER, April 20th, 1869.

Major General John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War:

DEAR SIR:—I am clearly of the opinion that the construction put by officers of the Government upon the act constituting eight hours a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed by the United States, is a palpable violation of the letter and spirit of the act, of the intentions of Congress, and of the desires of the men who petitioned for its passage. The recent action of the House of Representatives is the completest demonstration that the action of these Government officials is in direct violation of the will of the Representatives of the people. Could a vote of the Senate have been obtained, I am confident that body would have proved that Government officers acted in defiance of the will of Congress.

During the past third of a century, the hours of labor for manual laborers have been largely diminished. Thirty years ago the hours of abor in manufacturing establishments, machine shops, and in the various mechanical industries, were generally from twelve to thirteen hours a day. Laboring men, and persons who realized the fact that capital has its duties as well as its rights, sought to reduce the hours of labor to ten hours a day, and they have been generally successful. I think there cannot be a doubt that hours of labor for persons employed in mechanical and manufacturing industries have been diminished during the third of a century two hours per day. That this reduction of the hours of labor has been conducive to the pecuniary, physical, mental, moral, and social improvement of workingmen there can be no question whatever.

Many workingmen, who realize the measureless blessings flowing from the the reduction of the hours of labor already secured, demand further reduction, so that eight hours shall constitute a day's work. Many other persons, too, comprehending the wonderful improvements and immense productive power of machinery, have come to believe that labor, as well as capital, should share in its benefits. Congress was asked to constitute eight hours a day's. Work Congress was not asked to reduce the pay in proportion to the reduction of the hours, but to fix the number of hours that should make the day's work. Congress was asked to try an experiment; and Congress, believing that the Government could afford to test the experiment, enacted the eight hour law. By that law eight hours constitute a day's work—a day's work that commands a day's wages.

The bill under the lead of Gen. Banks, with little debate and slight opposition, passed the House early in 1868. On the 24th of June it was taken up in the Senate and passed by a vote of 26 to 11. The debate clearly shows the meaning of the act and the intention of the Senate. Mr. Sherman moved to amend it so as to provide that the rate of wages paid by the United States should be the current rate for the same labor for the same time at the place of employment. Mr. Conness, who had worked at a mechanical employment in New York before going to California, opposed the amendment. He maintained that "every man who labors knows very well, by experience, that he can perform as much labor in eight hours as he can in ten, taking the average of the season through. I know, by actual experience, that when I worked at a mechanical employment, and worked by the piece, being paid for the amount of work I did, I never was so well satisfied with the work I did, nor the quality of it as when I worked about eight hours a day." He maintained that it was a "very small boon that the workingmen of America asked from the Congress of the United States, namely: that the example be set by the Government of reducing the hours of labor."

Mr. Sherman maintained that if the hours of daily labor were fixed at eight in all the States, the price of eight hours' work would be less than ten hours' work. He desired that it the United States choose to take the lead in making eight hours a day's work, it should not be compelled to pay for eight hours' work more than private individuals would pay. He emphatically declared a vote against his amendment would be a declaration that a laborer of the United States is "a privileged character, is entitled to higher wages than he would be if he worked for an individual." He declared that there was "no justice in it, no righteousness in it;" that it would be unjust, improper, and unpopular." Mr. Hendricks opposed Mr. Sherman's amendment. He said the field for the operation of the law was not very large, but it might be valuable as an example. "My opinion," he said, "is that eight hours of labor, faithfully applied, are quite sufficient; that the health of the laborer, and the general interests of society, will be promoted by this reform." Mr. Morton declared that Mr. Sherman's amendment "virtually defeated the objects of the bill;" that its adoption "would be to reduce the amount of wages one-fifth, because the time of labor was shortened that much." He said that the fundamental proposition, on which the proposal was based was, that in regular mechanical employments men would perform as much labor in eight hours as they would in ten; that the rest and intellectual vigor and freshness imparted to operators would enable them to perform as much labor in eight hours as in ten. He maintained that that was an experiment which could be very well tested in Government workshops, but "the experiment could not be tried, and the question could not be settled if the wages, in the beginning, were reduced 20 per cent."

Mr. Stewart asserted that men would do more work per hour if they work eight hours than they would if they worked ten hours a day. "If you put the value of men on the amount of labor they can do in the course of their natural lives, I think men will be more valuable if they work eight hours a day than if they work ten hours a day. I think they will accomplish more in the course of their natural lives; they will not wear out so soon, and if there is any object in prolonging human life and increasing the aggregate of human happiness, the argument would be in favor of this bill." Mr. Cole expressed the opinion that eight hours' labor in the mechanical pursuits, and in all other branches of labor, was quite sufficient; that the residue of the time not devoted to sleep might well be employed for the improvement of the mind and the other faculties.

Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, declared that it was absurd to suppose that a man could earn as much in eight hours as he could in any larger number of hours. He was for "leaving the people of the country at perfect liberty to make any contracts they pleased." He believed it was "a degradation of the workingmen of the country to deprive them of the privilege of working for just such sums and for such time as they pleased." He thought, after all, if the bill should pass, it would result ni the reduction of the amount of wages. Mr. Bucklew thought the bill ought not "to be encumbered and embarrassed" by Mr. Sherman's amendment. Mr. Fessenden opposed the bill because it proposed "to give one-fifth more to persons who worked for the Government than to those who worked for private individuals." He maintained that we should raise the wages of laborers in Government employ one-fifth by the passage of the bill, "because that is the effect of it by cutting off one-fifth of the labor and leaving the wages the same." Mr. Ferry would vote for Mr. Sherman's amendment, because if such a bill was to pass, it was just to the Government that the amendment should prevail. He believed that such legislation was "ignoring the experience of six hundred years," that instead of being a benefit to the workingman "it was striking a deadly blow at his rights."

During the debate I took occasion to say, in substance, that I should vote against Mr. Sherman's amendment for the reason that I wished to give the eight hour movement a fair trial; that I thought the Government employing a few hundred mechanics and laborers could afford to test the eight-hour experiment; that I was not convinced that toiling men could perform as much work in eight hours as in ten hours, or that they would receive as much compensation for eight hours as for ten hours, but that it might be for the material, intellectual, and moral interests of the masses of the people, whose lot it was to toil for their subsistence, to reduce the hours of labor, and if that reduction would be conducive to the interests of laboring men and laboring women it would be a source of gratification to every benevolent heart and every generous mind. I maintained that capital needed no champion in this country and in this age; that we were made for something better and higher in this country than to pile up one thousand millions annually; that what we wanted to grow in this Christian land was a healthy race of men and women with cultivated heads, and hearts, and consciences; that whatever tended to dignify manual labor or lighten its burdens, to increase its rewards or enlarge its knowledge, should receive their sympathy and command their support; that, animated by these sentiments, I should vote against Mr. Sherman's amendment and for the bill as it came from the Representatives of the people.

No Senator suggested that the passage of the bill reducing the hours of labor one-fifth reduced the wages of labor one-fifth. On the contrary, all admitted that it reduced the hours of labor without reducing the rates of wages. Mr. Sherman's amendment was intended to reduce the rate of wages in proportion to the reduction of time. Sixteen Senators voted for it, to accomplish that avowed purpose. Twenty-one Senators voted against it, to defeat the accomplishment of that purpose. The action of officers of the Govern-

ment is in direct opposition to the declarations of Senators, and in opposition to the vote of the Senate. The recent action of the House of Representatives is an emphatic declaration against the construction put upon the law. I think this action of the House should be an admonition to those officers to revise their opinions and revoke their orders.

Respectfully yours,
HENRY WILSON.

THE RUSSIAN EMPEROR ON CASTE.

From the New Orleans Tribune.

THE following dispatch from Cassius M. Clay, our Minister to Russia, to Secretary Seward, will be interesting to our readers, and instructive to the white population of the Southern States:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
ST. PETERSBURG, Russia, February 9th, 1869.

SIR: Capt. T. Morris Chester, late of the United States Volunteer Army, being in St. Petersburg, coming well recommended by distinguished citizens of the United States, and being also well educated and of good address, I called upon the minister of foreign affairs and told him that I would not apply in the usual way by note to have Capt. Chester, a colored American citizen, presented to his Imperial Majesty, as there was no precedent, and I did not know how his Imperial Majesty would be disposed to act; but I desired that he would approach his Imperial Majesty in an informal way, and ascertain his wishes in this regard. The assistant minister of foreign affairs, Mr. De Westmann, acquiesced in the proposal, and in a few days wrote me that the Emperor had given orders to have Capt. Chester's name put upon the list of persons for the first presentation. To-day being the occasion of a grand review of the imperial guard, the Emperor sent an invitation to Capt. Chester to assist in the review, which he did, riding around with his imperial Majesty's staff, and taking lunch at the winter palace with the staff officers and a portion of the Imperial family, who accompanied the Emperor at the lunch.

I have made these facts known to you, as I regard the affair of some importance. We have four millions of colored citizens; they are with us, and of us, for good as evil. I think that it is the duty of all good citizens to try and elevate the African race in America, and inspire them with all possible self-respect; and prepare them for that ultimate influence which they must sooner or later have upon the political and economical interests of the United States. These are the views which have influenced my action in this case, which, not partisan in their character, I should hope would be satisfactory to all patriotic Americans.

Having, however, discharged my duty, as I ever do, without regard to personal considerations, I submit my action frankly to the judgment of the department. I am, my dear sir, your most obedient servant,
C. M. CLAY.

HON. WM. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

We specially commend the above to the study of the reverend clergy of the city and to the editors of the religious press. Have they not a word of remonstrance to offer with respect to the system of American caste, which makes a gentleman, whom the Emperor of a mighty empire treats with high consideration, a social outcast in his own country, an object of contempt even with persons every way his interiors in all the attributes of a true manhood? He is compelled to leave his native land, republican America, to receive even decent treatment. Contrast the outrage perpetrated upon Lieut.-Gov. Dunn by people of New Orleans and Louisville, with the respectful attentions accorded to Capt. Chester in St. Petersburg by one of the greatest men of the world.

We well understand that what we, humble journalists of a proscribed race, have to say upon this matter, will, if read at all, be read with a smile of derision by the gentlemen who conduct the religious journals of the city, with a single exception; but truth is truth, justice is justice, by whomsoever vindicated. And we know, and they know, that those who, in the high places of influence, fail or refuse to regard the cause of the weakest and humblest, through fear of the community on which they depend for patronage and support, will have to answer at another than human tribunal for their dereliction of duty.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY? WHO ARE THE DEMOCRATS?

NAPLES, N. Y., April, 1869.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE STANDARD, and other anti-slavery papers and speakers, in speaking of the pro-copperhead rebels, denominate them as Democrats when they repudiate every principle of Democracy. Noah Webster defines a "Democrat" as being one who is in favor of extending the elective franchise to all classes of men." The pseudo Democrats without exception go against the principle of Democracy, and are either open and out rebels or their meaner copperhead allies, who do not either know or profess the principles of Democracy. Abolitionists who are in favor of abolishing all wrong *per se* are the genuine democracy. They have contended for the equal rights of all men when to do so was to call down on their devoted heads the wrath and indignation of both Church and State; to be persecuted, mobbed and murdered under pretence of liberty, while only under the influence of slavery or the false democracy. A genuine democracy is the noblest work of man. Till recently we have had but the shadow of democracy, practically an oligarchy of color, but how great the contrast now! A man, though he have not the Saxon hue, is recognized as a man, in harmony with the Declaration of Independence that "all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." How are the mighty fallen! One great and powerful party, under false colors, from governing the Nation, and nearly every State in it, is so poor that none can be found, who cannot see its weakness.

SHOTWELL POWELL.

MR. CONWAY AND THE PALL MALL GAZETTE.

The Pall Mall Gazette of April 14th, publishes the following letter from Mr. Conway:

SIR: May I, without undertaking the advocacy of the American charges against England, respond to your challenge so far as it institutes a parallel between the attitude of the United States toward Spain in the matter of Cuba, and that of England toward the United States in the matter of the Southern Confederacy?

The gravamen of the American charge is, that their Government having passed into the hands of a new Administration, and thereupon a rebellion having broken out, that rebellion was conceded belligerent rights by England without waiting for the arrival or representations of the American Minister then on his way to this country. That, it is charged, was "hasty recognition," and indicated an unfriendly animus toward the United States.

The other case is that, though the insurrection in Cuba had acquired imposing dimensions, the American Government not only awaited the arrival of the new Spanish Minister, but has not yet recognized either the beligerency or the independence of Cuba. But the House of Representatives, you say, has expressed its sympathy with Cuba, and that is hostility to Spain. Of course it is; and the House of representatives has a perfect right to express its sympathy with any cause and its dislike of any Government. But it must not profess that such expressions are consistent with friendship. As I understand it, the English Government claims to have done nothing unfriendly to America. I do not learn that the House of Representatives has disowned its detestation of that miserable combination of oppressions in Cuba which the Provisional Government of Spain, in their solicitude concerning a new monarch, has not as yet even promised to remove. I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

THE following States, says *The Tribune*, have ratified the Amendment:

MISSOURI,	March 1, 1869. (Defective).*	
KANSAS,	February 27th,	
NORTH CAROLINA,	March 5, 1869.	
WEST VIRGINIA,	" 3,	"
MASSACHUSETTS,	" 9-12	"
WISCONSIN,	" 9,	"
MAINE,	" 12,	"
LOUISIANA,	" 5,	"
MICHIGAN,	" 8,	"
SOUTH CAROLINA,	" 16,	"
PENNSYLVANIA,	" 26,	"
NEW YORK,	April 14,	"
ALABAMA,		
FLORIDA,		
ILLINOIS,		
MINNESOTA,		
IOWA,		
NEBRASKA,		
ARKANSAS,		
NEVADA,		

The Amendment has been rejected by
DELAWARE.

Georgia, not competent, until "reconstructed" again, to either ratify or to reject the Amendment, has gone through the form of rejecting it.

*Missouri failed to act upon the second section.
†Kansas—the second section was imperfect when ratified.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1869.

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at Steinway Hall, New York, on Tuesday, May 11th, day and evening, commencing at 10 1-2 o'clock A. M.

The Executive Committee urge most earnestly all the members and friends of the Society to be present on that occasion. The exceedingly interesting position of the cause, and the pendency of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment are sure to make this a most important meeting, and to give to its deliberations unusual significance. Let all Abolitionists add their presence and counsel.

The Society will hold a Business Meeting on Wednesday, May 12th, at Dodworth Hall, commencing at 10 1-2 o'clock A. M.

Among the speakers will be WENDELL PHILLIPS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Dr. F. R. LEES, of England, HON. JAMES M. SIMMS, of Georgia, Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, Mrs. LUCY STONE, Dr. CHARLES B. PURVIS, of Washington, Mrs. CORA L. V. DANIELS, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, MARY GREW, EDWARD M. DAVIS, and AARON M. POWELL.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS and the Hon. GEORGE W. JULIAN have been invited, and it is probable that they will be able to address the meeting.

Mr. SIGISMOND LASAR will preside at the organ.

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
President.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
AARON M. POWELL, } *Secretaries.*

CUBA.—ENGLAND.

WE print, in another column, Mr. Conway's letter which states, with admirable clearness, the position of our Government as to Cuba. It has obeyed exactly the rules of International Law. We confess our entire willingness to have had the Government go much further. The rules of International Law, devised by tyrants and usurpers to enable them to perpetuate their own power, have little weight with us. So far as National Non-Interference means leaving the different elements and classes of a Nation free to arrange themselves and shape their own institutions, we value and are disposed to respect it. But if it is strained to enact that we must sit by, neutral and indifferent, while one race murders another, as in Crete, or one class enslaves another, as in Cuba, we say, away with such nonsense and Atheism in the name of law. Wherever a man rises for his *natural* rights, we have a right to sympathize with and aid him. Civil and political rights must be arranged by each Nation according to its own ideas. Men outside, may, and ought to, leave such things to settle themselves according to the level of a Nation's intelligence. But *natural* rights rest on different principles and draw after them different duties. A race or class battling for them has a right to all the aid we can give it.

Hence there is no likeness between our Rebellion and the rising in Cuba. The Cuban patriot inscribes "*Justice and Liberty*" on his flag and hence may claim the help of all the world. We would have our Government not only promptly recognize the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents; but announce to the world, as a principle of International law, that any race rising against similar wrongs should be recognized as soon as they had fought long enough to be seen and heard five hundred miles off. We deny the existence of any Spanish institution in Cuba which, in the light of our century, deserves the name of a Government. A system which keeps one-half of its subjects in chains is not a government. A system by which the bayonets of men, three thousand miles off, keep a million of men in subjection, robbing them of the fruits of their industry (allowing them no equivalent) is not a government. To be worthy of that name and entitled to the rights of a government, the system must discharge the duties of a government. It must foster industry, promote civilization, protect life and property and execute justice between man and man. No Spanish rule in Cuba has ever done this. We proclaim the right of our Nationality, based on Justice, to deny to Cuban Despotism and Barbarism the name and rights of a government. The only rightful government in Cuba is found in the patriot camp. We would have America acknowledge brotherhood with it.

We have no wish for Cuban annexation. Let her lead the West India Confederacy. If, after trying that, years hence, she seeks us, then will be time enough to entertain the question. Our only present interest is to help a Nationality based on equality of races and Emancipation.

The same rule we have applied to Cuba condemns the course of England during the last nine years. She strained even the unjust and equivocal rules of International Law to find means of helping a slaveholding conspiracy. Hating our Government, as a possible rival, she aided to establish piracy and slavery as corner stones of a new State. We will waste no time discussing technicalities with her. Her offence is rank. The atonement is to be, full pecuniary recompense and beside a distinct, formal disavowal of any right in future to act on the principles by which she now seeks to defend her course. Her apology is to be a consent to the remodelling of International Law. No matter how long it takes public opinion in England to reach this willingness. We can wait. Meanwhile it is for us to act, respecting Cuba, on these just and enlightened principles. If Great Britain interferes we have, at little cost, a perpetual Alabama anchored off her coast; just as near to Liverpool as Dublin is to that port.

Twenty millions of dollars will make Ireland our Gibraltar; every one of her innumerable harbors will be bases for our Navy. Twenty thousand men and twenty million dollars make Ireland our ironclad and every Irishman the world over, our soldier. What interest is this to us? While this danger lasts the House of Commons has no lack of motive to do justice to Ireland. "By indirection find direction out"—acknowledge the Cuban movement. It frees 600,000 Cuban slaves. Let England hasten to give Ireland something that deserves the name of a *Government;* which Ireland has not had for three hundred years. Let England know that the very first moment she fires a cannon to obstruct freedom or bar us from holding up struggling nations, we shall encamp in Dublin. If the thought does no other good it will surely hasten justice to Ireland; and meanwhile preserve the peace and help mightily toward the enfranchisement of the world.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

WE repeat earnestly our invitation to the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society to attend the Annual Meeting to be held in this city at Steinway Hall (Fourteenth street, first block east of Union Square) on Tuesday next, May 11th. The meeting promises to be one of great interest. There will be a strong array of able and eloquent speakers. Mr. SIGISMOND LASAR, to whom we are indebted for many past favors, will preside at the organ.

In addition to the old and familiar voices, we have much pleasure in adding to the list of those from whom addresses may be expected, the name of Dr. F. R. LEES an indefatigable, able and eloquent Radical from England. In a note before us accepting an invitation from the Executive Committee to address the Annual Meeting, Dr. Lees says: "I shall very gladly say a few words expressive of English sympathy with your great movement."

We very much hope that we shall have also the presence of the veteran representative of our cause in Congress, the Hon. GEORGE W. JULIAN. In answer to the Commitee's invitation to attend the meeting, Mr. Julian writes:

"It would afford me unspeakable pleasure to do so. Long as I have known and admired the faithful and heroic men and women who have inspired and guided the Anti-Slavery movement in our country, I have never yet enjoyed the coveted satisfaction of meeting them in one of their annual gatherings. If I can possibly so order my business as to be with you, I will, but in any event I shall be with you in spirit."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, we are happy to be able definitely to announce, will be present and address the meeting. In his note Mr. Douglass says:

"I am, with you and the Society, till the liberty of the Black man, shall stand upon an equal footing of that of other men."

Public opinion needs to be quickened and strengthened to render certain the final triumph of the pending Fifteenth Amendment. How important the success of that measure is none can so well realize as our Southern allies, colored and white, who are still, in many places in the South, much more odious, and in much greater personal danger than are the red-handed, pro-slavery traitors. The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent, of this date (May 5,) gives the following from the Hon. HENRY M. TURNER of Georgia, now in Washington. Mr. Turner is one of the ablest of the colored members of the Georgia Legislature, expelled on account of his color:

"Henry M. Turner, one of the colored members driven out of the Georgia Legislature, is in town, and leaves for the North in a few days. It is his intention to speak in New Jersey and other States, and urge the ratification of the XVth Amendment. He declares that affairs in that State are in but little better condition than during last Summer. Assassinations, of loyal men are quite common, though not so frequent as formerly, on the main lines of travel. He himself has been compelled to have an armed guard at night when at home in Macon, and recently, while traveling in the southwest part of the State, was in the habit of going after dark from one house to another, in order that his whereabouts could not be known."

It is true that within a week a colored postmaster has been appointed in one of the worst rebel towns of Georgia, but, if Mr. Turner's account is correct, it is by no means improbable that the newly appointed postmaster will, if he accepts, pay his life as the price of his office. Many colored voters at the South have already paid this high price for attempting even to vote. While the question covered by the Fifteenth Amendment is allowed to remain an open one, desperate and murderous opposition to it will continue. It becomes Abolitionists to see to it that the question shall not remain open one needless hour. Rally for final, complete victory!

ECLIPSE OF "THE SUN."

The Sun of this city has achieved most dishonorable distinction the past week by an apparently malicious personal attack upon John Russell Young, Esq., the able, and very efficient Managing Editor of *The Tribune*. We are surprised that Mr. Dana, however strong his dislike of *The Tribune*, or however certain he may be of Mr. Young's alleged unfair dealing with the Associated Press, should have permitted *The Sun* to commit a greater, and more offensive indiscretion than the worst that is charged against Mr. Young, in the needless publication of such a private correspondence. As a matter of journalism it would be a wretched precedent for other papers, of less pretence to respectability than *The Sun*, to follow. The case has been promptly transferred to the courts wherein Mr. Dana is held to answer. Meanwhile the proprietors of *The Tribune*, the parties chiefly concerned and responsible, avow their respect for, and continued confidence in Mr. Young by retaining his services as the chief manager of that journal.

Of the Philadelphia *Morning Post*, in the interest of which it is charged that Mr. Young was untrue to the Associated Press, we have taken occasion frequently to speak in terms of warmest commendation. We are not surprised that its very excellence as an exponent of radical political opinion, and its enterprise as a newspaper should excite the ill-will and envious opposition of some of its rivals. In the sphere of daily journalism *The Morning Post* has had no peer,—not excepting *The Tribune*—in the uniform excellence of its political tone during the period of its existence. Of Mr. Young's relations to either *The Post* or the Associated Press, we know nothing and affirm nothing. That he should earnestly befriend such a journal as *The Post* is greatly to his credit. Any unfair dealing with the Associated Press we do not write to excuse. But that Mr. Young should rebuke the Associated Press for its one-sided, copperhead partisanship is also much to his credit. No editor, not of the conservative wing of politics and accustomed to watch carefully the reports from the South, has felt that he could rely upon the Southern Associated Press news. The Association, we infer, greatly needs to be reconstructed. We hope Mr. Young will not be driven from *The Tribune*; and that the days of the *Philadelphia Morning Post*, if it continue as good as it has been hitherto, may be many and prosperous.

DR. F. R. LEES.

WE are happy to announce the arrival in this city of Dr. F. R. LEES from England. Dr. LEES is widely known as a Temperance reformer and author. His labors, in behalf of the Temperance cause in Great Britain have been very extensive and effective. One of the objects of his present visit to this country is to ascertain as accurately as possible what have been the practical results of the prohibitory movement here. Dr. Lees has also long been one of the most earnest and steadfast friends of America in England. During the war period he addressed a large number of the public meetings held in various parts of England, and was very successful in exposing, and defeating the pro-slavery plots and intrigues of the Southern Confederates in England.

We are sure it will be welcome intelligence to our friends that Dr. Lees has accepted an invitation of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society to address the Annual Meeting to be held at Steinway Hall on Tuesday next, the 11th instant.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

OUR acknowledgments are due to the Hon. ROSCOE CONKLING for a complete report of the *Impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson* presented in three bound volumes.

We invite attention to the able address recently delivered by the Hon. G. F. HOAR, before a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature in behalf of the enfranchisement of women, which we present elsewhere this week.

In noticing the complimentary dinner in Boston, to Lieut.-Gov. Dunn, we were in error when we stated that it was tendered by T. B. Smith, Esq. To the care and taste of Mr. Smith the occasion owed much. But the party tendering this attention to Gov. Dunn, was Messrs. R. Morris, J. J. Smith, Lewis Hayden, E. G. Walker, R. S. Brown, H. Flood, W. Proctor, M. Clark, and C. L. Mitchell. The occasion was one of great interest and long to be remembered. The gentlemen who planned it have great reason to be gratified at their success.

In an article entitled "Our Duty to Cuba," *The New Orleans Tribune*, an excellent daily journal owned and edited by colored men in New Orleans, very pertinently says:

"The Cuban wrestle for independence is one, for which no American can forbear sympathy and while our country is constrained to withold material succor, at least for the present, to the patriots whom the Spanish yoke has so long galled, no international compact of neutrality forbids that moral aid which has often proved in the history of an outraged people as powerful as batteries of artillery.

"Next to solid re-inforcements of American soldiers nothing can so cheer and stimulate the unhappy Cubans as the hearty and persistent expression by us of interest in their progress toward the attainment of an absolute independence. While we are no less impatient than the mass of our people to see Cuba an integral part of our own country to which it might contribute signal advantages, we should first be persuaded by humane rather than selfish motives and remember our brethren struggling to accomplish the freedom we enjoy. Their contest is one so disheartening in many of its phases,—their military organization is so imperfect while that of their oppressors comprises disciplined officers and men,—that it behooves us to afford them every spur, which national propriety does not inhibit. And it is especially incumbent upon our colored citizens to be mindful of those of their race, who are now engaged in the same desperate experiment, which under God's Providence, secured full freedom to every black man upon American soil. The damning influences of slavery were too recently dispelled to be forgotton by our people, and we should now aspire to rescue others as we have rescued ourselves.

"For one, therefore, we dissent from the apparent idea in our midst that only a white class should tender meeds of sympathy to Cuba. It is a Cuba of slaves as well as of whites. Let colored men therefore organize meeting here, affirm by distinct resolutions a candid sympathy for the efforts which white and black patriots are now putting forth and so far as we can, as a race, let us assist them to consummate the noble ends they seek. Cuba is at this juncture a direct challenge to American Republicanism,—let us not fail of our duty."

AN account from a correspondent, of Gov. Dunn's visit to the public schools in this city is unavoidably deferred this week. It will appear next week.

PERSONAL.

PROF. HUXLEY says the time is not far distant when Sunday-Schools for teaching science will be established in every parish in England.

Mrs. Cora L. V. Daniels who has been ill for several weeks at Washington has, we are glad to learn, nearly recovered from the severe prostration, and will without doubt be able to attend and address the Annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in this city on Tuesday next.

The Tribune says:

"Gov. Dunn of Louisiana having sent word by a colored friend, during his recent visit to this city, to have Mayor Hall call on him at the Metropolitan Hotel, the Mayor ordered that, if Gov. Dunn should call on *him*, otherwise than on official business, a policeman should put him out of the building."

A Geneva telegram, of April 29th says:

"It is rumored to-day that the Swiss government has requested Joseph Mazzini to leave the country. Mazzini lives at Lugano, near the Italian border, and his connection with the recent conspiracy at Florence and Milan has probably led the Italian government to make such request of Switzerland."

A Baltimore telegram of April 29th says:

"Clayton Fulton, the new Surveyor of this port, has appointed William H. Taylor, (colored) a subordinate in his office, the first appointment of a colored man made by a federal officer in the State of Maryland. A committee of colored citizens waited on Mr. Fulton this morning, and thanked him for his action."

Rev. Samuel J. May, in a letter dated, Syracuse, May 3d, says:

"There has lately been a great revival of interest here in the Woman's Suffrage question. We have had meetings for the discussion of the question once a week for ten weeks. They have been well attended, generally crowded and the discussion has been, on the whole spirited and able."

Garibaldi has recently written the following letter to a workingmen's association at Naples:—

"CAPRERA, March 30th.

"My Dear Friends—I congratulate you on the success of your society; as one of your brethren, I am proud of it. But all progress will be neutralized by the shameful superstitions in which our populations are still plunged; conseqently, in your programme you demand the worship of the True and the downfall of the priests, who are the enemies of Italy. When that shall be attained, only, will you be in the real career of progress. Yours for life,
G. GARIBALDI."

Miss Kate Field delivered her lecture, "Woman in the Lyceum," before a large and critical audience in the Plymouth Church Lecture Room, Brooklyn, on Monday evening last. She was very happily introduced by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. In Brooklyn, as in Boston, her lecture was received with great favor. It is finely written, combining in healthful proportions, brilliant wit, earnest appeal and solid argument. As a reader Miss Field gave evidence of most careful and thorough study. Her voice, admirably controlled, is one of the pleasantest to which we have ever listened in the lecture room. Miss Field will repeat her lecture in this city, at the Union League Theatre, on Monday evening next. We will therefore give no synopsis of it. We advise all our friend, to go and hear the lecture, and are willing to guarantee to them a very enjoyable entertainment. There can be no doubt that Miss Field has entered upon a very successful lecture career, with opportunities for great usefulness.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, May 2, 1869.

OUR elms, on the Common, are about a fortnight in advance of last year, the blossoms being fully out, and the leaves soon expected. A robin has now been sitting on her refitted nest three days or more. The first I saw last year was on the 14th of May. Mayday, however, now, as then, came with a chilling East wind, and a temperature, in the early morning, very near the freezing point. So it was well that our School Committee had already decided not to give that day as a holiday. If they would give the *last* day of May, our children might keep the good old name, and have with it the solid advantages and pleasures of the English festival.

We do not hear much now of that "old handmaid of slavery," the Colonization Society. One of our papers—which, before the war, was equally zealous in favoring this Society and opposing the Anti-Slavery Society—now speaks of African Colonization as on the wane, and says that "the abolition of slavery appears to have lessened the disposition among the colored people to emigrate to Liberia!" The fact concealed under this ingenious expression is, that there is now less opportunity than formerly for the haters of colored Americans to crowd them out of their native country. In fact, so small is the number of colored people now deluded by the representations of the Colonization Society, that it would be sheer waste to send, for their transportation, the fine ship which the Society lately bought, and which is therefore likely again to be sent to Europe instead of Africa, and as a trader instead of a transport ship.

This reminds me that in the wills of two pious ladies, recently deceased in a neighboring city, there were considerable bequests to the Colonization Society, as well as to those other former staunch upholders of slavery, the Presbyterian Church, the American Tract Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. All these bequests were probably written down long ago, in the palmy days of slavery,—when the approval of the popular church equally sanctified them all; so that the conservative old ladies who had long ago supposed these the best of existing institutions, died without discovering their error, and wrested their money upon operations tending to retard the progress both of civilization and Christianity.

In 1846, more than $17,000 came to the Colonization Society by legacies alone. In 1851, more than $15,000. In 1852, more than $19,000. In 1854, more than $16,000. Since then, the proceeds by legacy have not been so large; but every year, no doubt, for a long time yet to come, the last wills of respectable old fogies will testify to the solid aid and comfort afforded by the popular church to the Colonization Society.

Speaking of churches, I told you some time since of two enormously expensive church edifices lately erected on the new land below our Public Garden. The churches which erected them are about equally conservative, though one is Orthodox and the other Unitarian. The edifice belonging to the former cost more than a quarter of a million, a large part of which remains a debt.

To the astonishment of outsiders, the minister of this elegant building resigned his office soon after its completion. What could be the reason? There was no dispute, no variance, no unkind feeling, no suspicion of heresy, no diminution of respect or regard on either side. He had always preached *the gospel* in accordance with their understanding of it; they had always been prompt with his salary and liberal in presents. Why did he resign? and why did they, without remonstrance, accept his resignation?

If you look at the proceedings of the Council—for these people, though calling themselves Congregationalists, (which means that their church is competent, by itself, to transact any needful business), feel bound by the traditions of the elders to call a Council to help them accept or dismiss a minister—you will get not a particle of light on the cause of this movement.

The work done in this case gives an excellent specimen of one of the uses of Ecclesiastical Councils, which is to veil unpleasant facts with pious language, and use words in a Pickwickian sense so solemnly and emphatically that some hearers will not think of looking for any meaning but the one formally presented, while the real parties to the transaction can look and act as if the presentation of the Council were a fair and full statement of the actual case.

The reason for Dr. Todd's resignation, and the ready acceptance of it by his people—as a sympathizing friend of both parties informs me—is that he does not suffice for their particular present necessity, namely, the attraction of more people who shall be able and willing to buy their pews and help pay their debt. They have made elaborate arrangements that no poor person shall come there—except on condition of conspicuously labelling himself poor, and pointing out by the very location of his seat that he is in some sort inferior to the other "miserable sinners" of the congregation; but it was taken for granted that rich orthodox people would be glad to take, and willing to pay for, the architectural splendors thus provided. Here was a church expressly built for the rich! Would not the rich come to it?

Just there was where the plan failed. It appears that pious rich people know the value of their money, and know what it ought to bring, quite as well as the other sort. A fine house certainly, they say; but the preacher must be a first-rate article, no less than the house. So they hold off from purchasing until this deficiency is rectified. They must have *all* the modern conveniences if they are to pay a quarter of a million for them. So now the church and society are trying to comply with this reasonable demand, and Dr. Todd kindly helps them by sending in his resignation.

This is the real state of things which, veiled, of course, by decorous Pickwickian solemnities of phraseology, comes before the Council; and the Council are to express this exigency in language which shall, first, turn public attention from the awkward and uncomfortable facts of the case—next make out a good statement for their brother minister, and help him to another parish—thirdly, help forward the prospective commercial enterprise of the Society—and lastly, keep up the pretence that the *chief* object of that Society is a maintenance of "the preaching of the Gospel."

All this, under the circumstances, would seem not very easy to accomplish; but ecclesiastical Councils are not less skilled than lawyers or politicians in the use of words to conceal their thoughts; and this Council was abundantly competent for its work.

It voted unanimously to confirm the action of the Church and Society. It noticed the satisfactory absence of all impeachment of motives and all hostile criticism from the language of both parties, and the clear evidence of strong reciprocal affection and esteem. In reviewing the history and contemplating the present attitude of the "enterprise" of the Central Church and Society, *they felt called upon to express a deep interest in the same, a high appreciation of its importance, and an earnest desire for its temporal and spiritual success.* They tender sincere and cordial sympathy to those who have been compelled, *under the impression of peculiar and unforseen circumstances,* to part with a cherished and beloved pastor; and they close with a first-rate certificate of character to Rev. Mr. Todd, in whom they feel even increased confidence after examining the causes that have led to this dismission.

Under these circumstances the *Independent* roguishly advises the Central Church to go the whole figure, and invite the crack orthodox preacher of the country to come to them, offering inducements greater than his present salary of $8,000, and the habit of his people to give him presents amounting to half as much more. The *Congregationalist* stigmatises this advice as uncalled for and impertinent. Whether the parties concerned will take it, remains to be seen. Certainly there have been cases where impecuniosity has retrieved itself by cutting a dash, and launching into increased expenditure. Now that the council has blessed their enterprise, perhaps the the Central Church might speculate successfully in that direction.

NORTH.

WHAT AILS THE NEWS COMPANIES?

NEW YORK, April 24th, 1869.

To the Editor of the Standard:

DEAR SIR: IS THE STANDARD considered an *incendiary* publication in this city? Wishing yesterday to get several copies of the last number containing Mr. Phillips's recent discourse, I went to the American News Company's place in Nassau street, and was told in answer to my inquiry for the paper:—"We don't keep that sort of Literature." I then went to the New York News Company's store in Spruce street, and was told: "We don't sell that kind of paper;—Have got *The La Crosse Democrat* if you want it." Have the two great News Companies of this nation yet to learn that the days of the Southern Slave Oligarchy and Northern sycophancy, are past?

I repeat the question—Is THE STANDARD considered an *incendiary* publication by these companies?

I am, although a convert by the logic of events, sincerely and devotedly yours, for *equal rights.*

E. P.

SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

REMARKS OF HON. GEORGE F. HOAR OF WORCESTER,

Before the Joint Special Committee of the Legislature, at the State House, Boston, Wednesday, April 14, 1869.

I AM unfortunate, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, that I have to address a committee to whom this subject has lately been presented, not only by the most brilliant orator of the country, but by her, who is, by common confession, the ablest advocate of the cause for which she is herself an embodied argument. I have not heard them, and so cannot even tell what topics to omit. But as I have been several times invited by the committee who have this matter in charge to state my views, although I am not vain enough to suppose I can present to you any new arguments, coming as I do from other studies, I thought I ought at least to come here and show my colors.

This age is remarkable for the dispassionate discussion on principle of the great fundamental laws which lie at the bottom of all human society. We have just gone through a struggle which has ended in emancipating and giving the right of suffrage to a race. And now instantly there comes upon us a renewed consideration of the rightfulness of excluding by the whole material forces of the government a little more than one-half of our population. I suppose this is always so. An individual cannot subject one action to the test of duty without, from that time forward, finding it difficult to escape the application of the same test to other questions of life.

Take any man or woman who has been educated frivolously, thoughtlessly, who has fallen into bad habits, and let there come to him, in a time when he is to act in some important matter, the question, Is it right? and let him experience the luxury of obedience to the law of duty, and from that time forward he can govern himself easily and comfortably by no other law. And so when our fathers began their struggle with England by discussing simply the limitations of parliamentry power, they ended by the immortal declarations of human rights contained in the opening clauses of the Declaration of Independence. In England to-day the party which has just come into power by extending the rights of suffrage to the laboring classes, commits itself as its first public measure to the enfranchisement, voluntarily and because it is right, of the people of Ireland from the dominion of an alien and aristocratic church. And therefore it is a fitting sequel to the victory which we have just achieved in this country that we should turn our attention to the question that is before us to-day. As I have said, a little more than one-half of the population of this Commonwealth is excluded from all share in its government—kept out by the whole force of the national power. That this is just has been taken for granted without reflection by the large majority of all mankind in all ages; or rather let me say that the large majority of all mankind and all ages have established their forms of government without considering the question whether it was right or not. Certainly no graver question than this can present itself to the statesman of this Commonwealth. It is to be discussed dispassionately and without heat.

Now in turning in my own mind what I ought to say to you here to-day, I have failed to think of a single reason which I can give why you or I should have the right of suffrage which does not include women; and I think I may safely challenge any human being to come forward and state why it is that I am permitted to cast my vote—to give any general rule which shall define the qualities or capacities or interests which should entitle a person to have a share in the administration of the government from which women are excluded. I shall assume as the foundation of my argument that you believe that every man has this right. I am speaking to the representatives, to the statesmen, of a people, who believe that. The framers of our government, Mr. Chairman, understood perfectly the principles of constitutional liberty; but they did what you often see done by the inventor of a new machine—a new principle in mechanism. The idea dawns upon the inventor; he turns it over in his mind until he sees the truth of his newly discovered principle, the capacity of his newly discovered force. That he understands and sees clearly. But when he comes to put his machine into actual operation, and to adjust the details of its mechanism, it very often takes the experience and the labor of years to bring to perfection the conception of the workman's brain. Not because there is any error in his principle, but because the mechanism in its details, which he at first tries, is not adjusted, is not consistent with the principle, and is not symmetrical or harmonious in all its parts. Now that is precisely what the framers of our constitution did in regard to the principle of human government. They state in the Bill of Rights a series of comprehensive fundamental principles, no one of which, as far as I am aware, has ever been disputed by any body, from the time of the organization of the constitution until to-day. There have been changes made—changes in the details, in the mechanism of our government. The framers themselves expected these, and provided a simple and convenient method of revising and altering the constitution. But in the statement of fundamental principles laid down in the Bill of Rights, so far as I have read the history of this Commonwealth, no living person, no person who has lived under them, ever has attempted to make the change. Now, in regard to this matter of the principle, which our fathers, using the pen of John Adams, announced as the rightful principle governing us in the adjustment of the government, it is this. They state, let me observe further, in one of the sentences of the Bill of Rights—not that they did not expect that they would be frequently changed, for as I said before, they provided a method for a convenient and easy change from time to time—but they state "A frequent recurrence to these fundamental principles of the constitution is absolutely necessary to preserve the advantages of liberty and to maintain a free government. The people ought, consequently, to have particular attention to all these principles, and to require of their law-givers and

magistrates an exact and constant observance of them." Now what do they say as a principle in the ninth article of the bill of rights? "All the inhabitants of this Commonwealth, having such qualifications as they (that is, all the inhabitants) shall establish, have an equal right to elect officers and to be elected to public employment. Each individual of this society has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and property according to standing laws. He is consequently to contribute his share to the expense of this protection; and no part of the property of any individual can with justice be taken from him or applied to public uses without his own consent or that of the representative body of the people." They say also, as another principle, that "No man or corporation or association of men have any right to obtain advantages or particular and exclusive privileges distinct from those of the whole community;" and that "the idea of man being born a magistrate, law-giver or judge, is absurd and unnatural." That is the principle—every inhabitant of the Commonwealth has a right to an equal share in its government. Every inhabitant of this Commonwealth, bound to contribute his or her share to its protection, cannot have his or her property taken away except by their leave. And no man or association of men, whether it be one man or a body of men, have a right to exclusive advantages distinct from those of the entire community. Now, how did our fathers carry out this principle? Let us see. All the inhabitants having an equal right to be eligible to office, no person shall be an officer who is not seized of a free-hold in this Commonwealth of the value of two hundred pounds, at least, or possessed of personal estate to the value of six hundred pounds. In regard to the election to the House of Representatives, every inhabitant having this equal right as a matter of principle, every male person being twenty-one years of age, having a free-hold or estate within the town of an annual income of three pounds, shall have a right to vote for representative of said town. No person shall be eligible to the office of governor, unless he shall at the same time be seized of a free-hold of the value of one thousand pounds. Having declared this principle fundamental, absolute, that every inhabitant is entitled to an equal share in the administration of the government, they proceed to say that such inhabitant shall only be elected governor if a male person and possessed of a free-hold of a thousand pounds. One generation has stricken out the latter inconsistency and has so far perfected the machine. Now the question is, what he will do with the other. We are here to say that this declaration of John Adams is not a lie, and that the fundamental principle of the constitution is right, and the rule and detail of its administration is wrong.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we admit frankly that woman differs from man. Is the difference such as affects her qualification for the vote? Is the difference such as affects her need of the vote? Is the difference such as affects the public's need of her vote? The answer to these three questions exhausts this argument.

What ought the voter to have to entitle him or her to this prerogative? Three things, it seems to me, are essential, and three things only. The voter should have, in the first place, a desire for the public welfare. He should have, in the second place, the capacity to judge of the character of the persons proposed as candidates for public office. He should have, in the third place, the capacity to judge of the effects of proposed measures. I can think of no other test. I have never seen stated by jurist, philosopher or statesman any other test, any other requisite or essential, but these three: Love of country, capacity to select its servants, capacity to appreciate its necessities. These make up, it seems to me, the right to share in its administration. Now, I admit, if we could be quite sure that any class in the community lacked either of these, we should claim the right for the State to exclude it from its administration. We are quite sure that infants have not the two last, and, therefore, drawing a line which from the nature of the case must be more or less arbitrary, we exclude them from a share in the government. We have thought—we were quite sure—that citizens of foreign countries could not have that supreme devotion to the interests of ours which would make them willing to live and, if need be, die for her service. And so we have claimed the right to impose upon them a term of probation before admitting them to this exalted prerogative. But which of these essentials does woman not possess? In the first place, the desire for the public welfare. Does she not love everything that is best for the State? She loves peace, she loves quiet, she loves order, she loves the security of the home, she loves and appreciates the principle which distinguishes a republican from an imperial government. The most valuable distinction between this government and most others upon earth in its theory that I know of, is this: That whereas other governments make it their ambition to create national strength, run a career of glory, a brilliant military career, to press with an iron heel upon the weak, and encounter with iron front the strong, the republic seeks and finds its success in the multiplication of happy homes, in the development of individual character, and, to use the simple phrase of the Declaration, in the pursuit of happiness.

I believe that women will bring to the administration of the State an earnest desire for this, in which the public welfare, on the true American theory, consists. I do not think that it will be claimed by any body that our sisters or wives will fall behind us in this first essential requisite to a share in the control of the State—desire for its welfare. Cannot she equal us in love and devotion to the State who surpasses us in capacity for love and devotion wherever she is permitted to indulge them? Man chiefly values the objects of his affection for the dignity, the comfort and the happiness they are capable of conferring upon him. Woman values herself for the dignity, the comfort and the happiness she is capable of bestowing on the objects of her affection.

In the next place, comes the capacity to judge of character. We all know that that is woman's instinct. If there is any one thing in which woman may claim to be our superior it is that, when she sees a person who asks for her confidence or ours, and we are reasoning about it and speculating about it, the infallible and unerring instinct of the woman gets at the truth. How many times every man who has put his confidence in somebody and suffers by it remembers too late the warning that he had received at home.

Now, in the third place, the capacity to judge of the effects of proposed measures. Is it not true, Mr. Chairman, as a matter of fact, that wherever woman has been permitted to appear in the sphere of public life, she has proved herself in this essential particular fully equal to the average of men in the same position? Since the reformation in England there have been three Queens regnant who have come to the throne by inheritance, Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anne and Queen Victoria, the worst of whom has been fully the equal of any king that has in the same time inherited the English throne, and the other two immeasurably the superior. In the list of great names of the sovereigns of Europe, few in number, there are none brighter than those of Isabella of Spain, Maria Theresa and Queen Victoria. Then, wherever woman has appeared in the sphere of politics, either as responsible director or as counsellor and companion of man, has not her duty been well performed? In that mighty parliamentary struggle, one of the most interesting chapters in English history, in which at the age of twenty-four the genius of the younger Pitt overcame a hostile majority in the House of Commons, and what was perhaps a more formidable obstacle, the combined antagonism of Burke, and Fox, and Sheridan, his chief confidant and counsellor was his mother.

Just think, Mr. Chairman, in considering this question of the capacity of woman, of the education which she has had in the duties to which we have confined and consigned her, do you think if you had spent your whole life in rocking the cradle and darning stockings that you would contribute as much as you do now to the administration of the State? I undertake to say that no man whose experience has enabled him to see women who have had an education which has tended to develop their faculties equally with those of men, will deny that in the kind of mental power essential to the administration of the affairs of the State they have proved themselves fully equal to men. In the studies which require the reasoning powers, the mathematical faculties, woman has often proved herself superior to most men. In the town where I was born and educated, and where we had pretty good schools and pretty good scholars, the girls were always at the head of the classes. My friend who has preceded me (James Freeman Clark), and my friend who sits on the committee (Francis W. Bird), perhaps could tell you something of a lady who fitted me for college, of whom it was said by the late President Everett that she could fill any professorship in Harvard College. Under her tuition the university used to place students who were suspended for a time, and she kept them up with their classes in every study, doing a work which would have been divided among a dozen male teachers in the College. She was one of the few persons in this country who are said to have read the "Mécanique Celeste" in the original without the assistance of the translation of Dr. Bowditch; a Greek and Latin scholar to whose studies Æschylus and Homer and Virgil were familiar; well acquainted too with the languages and literatures of modern Europe; who could tell naturalists like Tuckerman and Gray some things about their own studies which they were glad to hear; yet that instructed brain, that could have taught the best railroad engineer the most difficult principles of his art, could not be permitted in Concord to express a choice for the highway surveyor who should mend the road past her door! The woman to whose teaching some of the best intellects in the State owed their best accomplishments could not be trusted to attend a town meeting to aid in the selection of a committeeman for the district school to which her grandchild was sent!

Does the difference between man and woman affect the need of the ballot? Now I do not propose to go over this ground fully. You all know how very unequal the laws have been and still remain, though much improved, regarding the right of husband and wife. The husband still retains the control of his wife's person absolutely as the brutality of the common law ever gave it to him. He can give away all the property which is the proceed of the joint earnings of both; he can give away his own property from her, while she cannot give away her shares in corporations or interest in land without his consent. It used to be said when we were proposing a man of large property for office "He has a stake in the country." But what stake in the country is like that which a mother has in her child? But it is said politics is not a woman's business. I do not suppose it is a woman's business. Politics is not anybody's business in this country. It is not a clergyman's business, but you give a clergyman a vote. Politics is not the physician's business, but he is none the worse citizen for that. Politics is not the mechanic's business, but it is the power by which he is enabled to prosecute his business and to make it safe and profitable and free. Now, if you give me the ballot to protect my business, to secure just laws and efficient administration of them, that my counting-room or my office may be safe from the burglar, shall not woman have a right to protect her child, to protect her business of educating a citizen and a voter, from the rumseller or tempter, in any form which is proper? Shall she not protect her property from being unjustly taxed? Shall not the eighty per cent. of the teachers of our schools who are women be entitled when they become wives and mothers to a share in the administration of the school-system which they know infinitely more about than their husbands or their brothers? Shall she not have something to say about an equality of wages between the two sexes. We all know that for precisely the same result the woman gets her $400 or $500 a year, while her brother gets his $800 or $1000 a year. Now if you put the ballot into the hands of women that injustice will be remedied. You got your ten hour law soon enough, or your ten-hour system without legislation soon enough, when the workingman asked for it with the ballot in his hands; and you will get full compensation for woman when she demands it by the same power.

Then, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me also that society needs that women should have the ballot. Not only is she capable of it, not only does she need it, but it needs her. As has been said here already better than I can say it, society needs her. I believe that this thing is true—that wherever any law is to apply over the largest amount of population, to apply to the largest number of possible instances, the simple natural law generally prevails, and the disturbing forces disappear. The statistics which you will recollect Mr. Buckle collects in one of his volumes, and which he calls to the aid of a vicious and unsound theory, contain facts which are true. The question whether you will drop a letter into the post-office this morning without directing it, depends upon the purest accident in the world. But in the Kingdom of Great Britian the number of persons who will do that year by year will vary with the population. The question whether a single individual in Paris will commit suicide, seems to depend on his temperament, the accidents of his life, or his course in life. But throughout the Kingdom of France the number of suicides rises and falls with the price of wheat; and so in this matter of government, the simple law is that the interest of the nation will be the governing motive in the administration of the government. Now you give the government to one man, and the disturbing cause, personal ambition or want of capacity, comes in, and you do not get your good government. You give it to twenty men, and you have got twenty interests to control this disturbing cause. Still, these twenty will be liable to have some prejudices and some interests unlike each other, and the larger number you get the less likely the disturbing causes are to operate, and the more likely to control one another. You add one hundred per cent. to the voting population of this country, and you decrease the disturbing forces operating to overcome the simple law of the interests of the nation which should direct and control its government. You make it harder to buy up voters to corrupt a community. The passion on one side is neutralized by the passion on the other. The rogues do not predominate, because rogues do not agree. One rogue may have one motive of a selfish nature, and another has a different one. I think in this case, Mr. Chairman, the truth of this has been seen in your own experience, when, as the suffrage has extended in this Commonwealth, where it is as extensive as anywhere in the world, public measures have been discussed and decided more and more on the principle of right and wrong, and less and less on other grounds. Do you now hear what you used formerly to hear on our platforms and in our caucuses, an appeal to the prejudices of one class against another, attempts to excite contempt and derision toward poverty or ignorance, or jealousy and envy toward wealth and education? There are exceptions, of course, but the questions which are asked to-day on our political platforms as to the measure which comes there for discussion are—Is it right, is it just, is it humane? and no speaker touches a public audience better than the one who appeals to the best, purest and highest motives in our nature. We need women for this reason. We need her also to give purity to the interests, to the characters, which are to take a part in the administration of the government. There were two lines of Pope which John Adams loved to quote which expressed this idea:—

"From various discords to create
The according music of a well-tuned state."

We want woman for that also. And we want the special qualities which woman will bring which are hers alone. We want her modesty, we want her love and her purity, to help us determine all questions which affect the good order of society, the regulation of the public morals. We want her love of peace to deal with questions where the angry masculine passions are excited which would urge the nation into war. So I say that not only does woman need the ballot, but she is fit for the ballot; and we ask for the change on the ground that society needs that she should have the ballot.

There are two or three objections which I shall ask permission to refer to in this connection. It is said, if a woman votes, of course she must be elected to office; and a great deal of very good wit is expended in holding up to ridicule the incongruity of the duties of the nursery and the bench, or the senate-house. Now, I do not understand that the right to vote implies the right to be elected to office. The right to vote implies exactly this; that a voter shall be elected to such office as his business will permit him to discharge the duties of, and his fellow-citizens think he is more capable of than any body else; and it is not at all likely because women are elected to office that women with families demanding their attention at home will be called to preside over the deliberations of our supreme courts, or to lead armies in the field—although for that matter, when slavery demanded its pound of flesh which was secured to it by our national compact I think we should have preferred the ruling of Portia to that of Taney (laughter). Perhaps, also, Joan of Arc might have given a few wholesome lessons in generalship even to Gen. McClellan (renewed laughter).

Then it is said, and I have replied to that also, that the home duties of women would be neglected. We should expect of our public servants only such attendance to politics as is compatible with such duties. I think you did your duties at home, Mr. Chairman, before you came here, and do not come here unless you can do so consistently with those duties.

Then it is said that the giving of this power to women would create discord in families; that husbands would be found of one political creed and the wife of another; and an angry, bitter strife which grows up between neighbors sometimes in this way would grow up in the family circle. Now we all know how this thing would work. The husband and wife would be found ordinarily agreeing in political opinions. Men, brothers of the same family, are generally found to belong to the same political party. That community of tastes and similarity of education, that love of the same common objects which induces the husband to select one woman for his wife, and induces the woman to take him for a husband, will operate in this matter as in all others. You do not deny your wife the right to her own opinion about matters of religious belief, about which men differ fiercely; and I suppose the cases are rare where the husband is found belonging to one religious faith and the wife to another. Still, such cases are frequent enough to show that it creates no discord in the family circle. But, on the contrary, it seems to me that the admission of the wife to a share in what in a free republic must be the most interesting, the most sacred, and the most absorbing, of the husband's interests and pursuits, will in itself unite a family. What a comfort to be able to find at home a trusting, sympathizing counsellor from whom one-half of your heart shall not be hid. What a comfort to be able to consult with her, with whom you consult about your own interests and the interests of your children, about the interests of the State, dearer to you than your own interests or those of your children! I remember Robert Browning says—

"God be thanked! the meanest of his creatures
Boasts two soul sides; one to face the world with,
One to show a woman when he loves her."

And Walter Scott said, when Lady Scott died—"What shall I do with that part of my heart which I have been accustomed to show to her and to nobody else!"

Well, now, this will tend to enlarge that sacred and tender domain in the husband's heart to which the wife is admitted. It will tend to throw about the national interests a sacredness and tenderness which is associated now only with those of the family. Now the wife has no interest or share in the highest duty of her husband.

Well, it is also said that woman does not ask for the ballot. I thought she did ask for it. I thought the petitions on your table showed that many women asked for it. Certainly this argument cannot be applicable to them. In regard to all women this argument which is the one most urged in private and in public must, it seems to me, stand or fall with the others. If what we have said be true, if it be true that woman is capable of exercising this duty, if it be true that she needs this right, if it be true that the best interests of society require that she should have it—and if it is not true we have nothing to say, because our whole case must fall—if this be true, then it is the gravest charge that can be made against your existing institutions that she does not ask for it. You do me a great wrong if you deprive me of my vote; you do me a greater wrong if you deprive me of my wish for my vote. If God has given to woman the love of country it is her right to indulge that love by laboring for its advancement. If He has given her the capacity to judge of the public weal, it is her right and duty to exercise that judgment, and she is criminal, and you are accomplices in her crime, if you permit her, even if she will, to refrain from the performance of that duty and the development of that faculty.

Then it is said, Mr. Chairman, that we seek to expose the State to an incalculable peril—that there is a danger that the ignorant and depraved women will outvote the others. It is the old story. There has not been a step in the history of civil liberty, of human effort, or human education, that we have not been met—that friends of progress have not been met—with that precise argument. You cannot give men the suffrage because the men of the Five Points, or the thieves or the scoundrels, will outnumber the honest men in voting. You cannot give men light, you cannot teach men to read, because they will read bad books. You cannot allow men to think for themselves because the tendency to infidelity will develop itself. It is the old story. Now the ignorant and depraved women bear no greater proportion to the whole of their sex than the ignorant and depraved men do to theirs, yet the experiment of universal suffrage as applied to our sex is a complete success. No, Mr. Chairman, the safety of freedom is in movement. I remember a Democratic orator, some few years ago, compared this nation to the Wandering Jew, and said our destiny was to "March, march, march." Where Gen. Cushing would have had us march to may be somewhat questionable, but there was a profound truth embodied in the statement that the safety of freedom is in constant movement. The moment you place in a reservoir or a cistern the waters of liberty, that moment they become stagnant and offensive. The love of liberty is a perpetual fountain, which must run free and will not stay. The safest place for the hero is in the thickest of the fight. What is animal in him will be safer where his soul will rust in ease and security; but that which makes him a hero is safe, the heroism in him burns and glows, when the body and the life are in danger. So the safest place for the nation is when it is on the move in the pursuit of justice. (Applause). Did you ever hear, or read in history of a nation perishing from within when it was struggling to do justice and to do right? (Applause). Now I say, Mr. Chairman, if there is any truth either in the lessons of history or the teachings of religion you cannot put this nation in peril, or this Commonwealth in peril, by any measure you adopt when you are trying to do justice.

Then it is said that women will be unwilling to go to the polls in cities; that the places are not fit for their presence. I think that also is the old argument. You could not admit women to the banqueting-hall of the German nation to which Mr. Clarke has referred, where there were scenes of revelry and drunkenness. But after the time that women were admitted to the dinner-table and took its head, the license, the drunkeness, the revelry disappeared, and in their stead came the festival of the New England or the English home, graced and refined and purified by her presence. I have seen a great many mean men, in my time, but I never yet saw a man mean enough to insult a woman at the polls. And if there were such I think that would be an argument for excluding the male sex from the franchise, and not the other. (Laughter.) Do you believe that the merchants of New York, the Grinnells and the Astors, would allow the voting to go on in that city just as it does now, and that men would cast their votes in beer-shops or through a hole in a shutter if their wives had a share in the elective franchise? It seems to me that it would purify the ballot and not degrade woman. What comes to woman from without cannot defile her.

Mr. Chairman, we are just on the threshold of constitutional liberty. These last eighty years, crowded with history, crowded with stirring events, full of growth as they have been, how short they are compared with the future to which we are looking forward! The life of a man, a generation, the terms of presidential office—they are but the pulsations of an artery in this mighty national life! And we must not think that we have learned the whole secret of government or have explored all the treasures which liberty has to bestow upon us. I have always been touched with the familiar sentences, known by heart, I dare say, to almost every one within the sound of my voice, which John Robinson uttered to the departing Pilgrims on the beach at Leyden:—

"We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether we are ever to see each other's faces again. I charge you before God and His blessed angels to follow me no longer than I have followed Christ. If God shall reveal anything to you by any other instrument, be as ready to receive it as you have been to receive any truth by my ministry. I am very confident that the Lord has more truth and light to break forth out of His Holy Word."

That sentence, Mr. Chairman, is the key-note of New England history. "More truth and more light!" More truth is to break out of nature. The new powers of galvanism and electricity, the new adaptations of the mechanical forces, I believe are to raise up the laborer so that it will be the fate of no man in the republic that is to come to do mere drudgery. Why, already within the memory of living men there has been created a power through the invention of steam-engines which gives to the people of England to-day a force in their service equal to the entire population of the globe. The work of eight hundred millions of men is accomplished by the machines worked by the forces of steam to-day. More truth and light is to break out of revelation. Instead of the hard texts of the Old Testament, or the chapter where Paul sends back Onesimus, the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule claim their rightful ascendancy over the heart of man.

And so, Mr. Chairman, in civil government I believe more truth is to break out, if we will but see it. We remember the long years in which the whole active forces of this government were on the side of slavery—when the provisions for human liberty were simply dead restraints, and not active living forces. Our fathers said in the Declaration of Independence that to secure these rights of liberty, equality, etc., governments were instituted among men, and they fought out a seven years' war on that issue. They instituted their government; and the next generation proceeded to show that that government was instituted to secure the rights of slavery, and to expound the constitution on that hypothesis; and the grand purposes declared in the preamble of the constitution and the injunction that Congress should guarantee to every State a republican form of government, were entirely forgotten and ignored. The declaration of rights contained in the constitution were deemed, at best, but as walls marking the boundaries of federal legislation, or against which the forces of State power should beat themselves in vain. We are beginning to find out that these great provisions declare objects of affirmative and active exercise of national power and sovereignty, just as much as the regulation of commerce of maintaining the national territory. So, out of our constitution, out of the principles contained in this Bill of Rights, out of the eternal principles of republican liberty, more truth and more light are still to break forth. And in the blaze of that light woman shall come to the side of man, bringing to the administration of government her love, her purity and her truth.

THE INDIANS.

SHERIDAN'S LAST RIDE.

BY SHANANDOAH.

I.

On the Wichata, at break of day,
The Cheyenne chieftain's village lay—
The remnant small of a mighty band,
Now scattered and torn like the rifted sand;
The wandering winds with warnings woke
The ghosts of his murdered kin, who spoke:
Fly! fly! for the morn bringeth fresh dismay
From Sheridan ninety miles away.

II.

A thousand horseman, with weapons bright,
In the frore and frosted morning light,
Ride over the snowy-sheeted ground,
With a shuddering, smoldering, sullen sound;
They have seen the tents in the night's cold noon,
And backward rode 'neath the veiled moon,
Prepared to pounce, like a bird of prey,
On the fated village at break of day.

III.

The Indian sire saw the countless throng,
Like the trees of the forest, many and strong;
He stood like a hunted hind at bay,
Then sent this message without delay:
"Ye are many and we are few;
Ye can drink our blood as the sun the dew;
But we have our women and children small,
A hundred and thirteen souls in all;
My handful of warriors are strong and brave;
They will fight my helpless people to save;
There is no fear in the chieftain's eye;
I cannot fight, for I will not lie;
I came with this pledge only yesterday
From the father ninety miles away."

IV

No answer came. In another breath
They swept to their wretched work of death,
With a maddening shout and a deafening yell,
Like the dire and dreadful fiends of hell;
And babes from their mothers' breasts were torn,
And sires were scalped in the light of morn:
The ground was crimson with their blood,
And the river reddening with its flood;
Mangled forms lay bleeding and bare,
With a ghostly, ghastly, sickening glare.
And one rode foremost among them all,
Urging them on with shout and call,
On a foaming charger, that seemed to say:
I have brought you Custer all the way,
At the head of a thousand armed men,
With orders, traced with a bloody pen,
These trembling mothers and babes to slay,
From Sheridan ninety miles away.

V.

Alas! alas! for the deeds that were done
That day at the rising of the sun!
The tongue shall falter, and pen shall fail,
And lips grow white when they tell the tale
How friend and foe on the field did lie,
All mangled and mingled, to faint and die;
The victors, panting their fame to spread,
Gave no heed to the dying, no thought to the dead.
Great God! was there none their hands to stay,
With Sheridan ninety miles away?

VI.

Their cruel and thirsty carnage o'er,
Backward the warriors ride once more;
They pilfered the lightning from the skies,
And flooded the country with flaming lies,
In these words, blazened all over the land:
"We have met a hostile Indian band—
Five hundred, counting women and all—
An hundred warriors armed did fall;
The frontier's safe, for we gained the day,
With Sheridan ninety miles away."

VII.

There was joy in the camp of Sheridan
When his branded minions appeared again,
With their Osage allies, drunken with blood
And the liquid hell-fire's maddening flood,
Came leaping and shouting around the fire
With the gory scalp of the Indian sire;
Like demons they danced till the dawn of day,
And Sheridan there, not a word to say.

VIII.

The maiden moon took time to unfold
Her silvery bow to a disc of gold,
When Sheridan rode 'neath her shining shield,
Seeking his dead on the bloody field;
Their souls, like a vapor, before his eyes
Arose, with a shivering, sad surprise,
To show where their forms were shrouded in blood,
The prey of the wolves and the vultures' food
Fifteen days did brave Elliott lay,
And Sheridan ninety miles away.

IX.

All honor to those who, with sword or pen,
Rise up to defend the rights of men;
Who succor the weak and battle the strong,
Sustaining the right, denouncing the wrong;
Who would fly the Indian's life to save
From the lawless murderer's conquering glave.
But chiefly honor the glorious three,
The valiant sons of a nation free—
One far in the fiery, flaming South,
Who flew to rescue from death's dark mouth
The hunted few of an Indian band,
When the Texan Rangers were close at hand;
And him, the special and martyred one,
Whose name now shines like the flaming sun;
And him, the youngest, whom gold could not buy,
The glorious "white man that would not lie."
These, these would have rushed the carnage to stay
Had they been a thousand miles away.

X.

But for this deed, this one without a name,
Columbia bendeth her forehead in shame;
And the blood that was shed one name shall efface
When the angel of Fame on her scroll doth trace
The deeds of the brave, the wise, and the good,
Then this day's work will be well understood;
And over it all, with a burning pen,
Erasing the record of Sheridan,
Write: "Moke-ta-va-ta, who dared to die
Rather than basely utter a lie;
Whose pleading women and children were slain,
In the light of morn, on the crimson'd plain,
By a mounted host of merciless men,
Under orders grav'd with a faithless pen,
Making this a 'St. Bartholomew's day,'
And Sheridan ninety miles away."

NOTES.

1. STANZA I.—*The Cheyenne Chieftain.*—Moke-ta-va-ta, or Black Kettle, the most remarkable man of the age for magnanimity, generosity, integrity, and courage. His fame as an orator was widely known; he was great in council, and his word was law. Hundreds of the whites are indebted to him for their lives. At Sand Creek, Colorado, in the fall of 1864, while in the employ of the Government and under the protection of its flag, he was attacked, and one hundred and twenty of his men, women, and children murdered. On that occasion, with only forty-five warriors, he made a fight unparalleled in history. He held Chivington's seven hundred men at bay for seven hours, and carried to a place of safety three hundred of his women and children—twenty of his braves and his own wife pierced with a dozen bullets. Previous to the conflict, after his two brothers had been shot down and cut to pieces before his eyes, while approaching the troops to notify them of the friendly character of the Indians, he aided three white men to escape from his village, one a soldier. They were his guests, whom he suspected of being spies, "but did not know it," and they are now living to the eternal fame and honor of the chieftain. From Sand Creek he fled to the Sioux camp, where it was determined to make war upon the whites in retaliation. He protested against interfering with women and children, and insisted upon fighting the men. He was overruled. Thereupon he resigned his office as chief, and assumed the garb of a brave. He soon after made peace for his tribe, which was faithfully kept until the burning of their village two years afterward. A war again ensued, in which he took no part, having promised never again to raise his hand against the whites. He was the first to meet the Peace Commissioner at Medicine Lodge Creek. His many services and virtues "plead like angels trumpet-tongued against the deep damnation of his taking off."

2. THE SAME.—*His murdered kin.*—One hundred and twenty of his men, women, and children were assassinated at Sand Creek, and mutilated in the most horrible and disgusting manner. And at Pawnee Fork, two years after, when the Cheyenne village was burned, an orphan, an idiotic Indian girl, nine years of age, was outraged and murdered.

3. STANZA VII.—*Their Osage allies.*—Osage Indians who constituted a portion of Sheridan's command, and were employed against the Cheyennes. Even Chivington had a better sense of propriety or expediency; for, when he started out to destroy Mo-ke-ta-va-ta's village, he declined the proffered services of the Ute Indians, inveterate enemies of the Cheyennes. In this, as well as in the fact that he did not budge an inch from Sand Creek until he had cared for and removed his wounded and dead forty miles to Fort Lyon, he deserves commendation; for, he "not being the worst, stands in some meed of praise."

4. STANZA VIII.—*Fifteen days.*—After the attack upon the village, the destruction of life and property, and shooting of hundreds of ponies, the troops marched back to Camp Supply, reporting Major Elliott and seventeen of his men missing, their fate unknown. After waiting fifteen days, the bodies of these men were cared for. It seems that Elliott and his men (doubtless ignorant of the real character of the Indian village, disdaining to molest the women and children or property) engaged in a hand to-hand encounter with the warriors, and not being sustained by the command otherwise employed, were cut off and abandoned.

5. STANZA IX.—*The Glorious three.*—Major General George H. Thomas, who commanded at Camp Cooper, Texas, some ten years ago, made a forced march of an hundred miles, with one hundred and twenty cavalry, to protect a village of Comanches from Baylor and three thousand rangers that were marching to destroy them. General Thomas was successful. He then marched in rear of the Indians hundreds of miles to shield them from the Texans. This gallant and chivalric officer has recently, to the shame and disgrace of the Government, had Sheridan promoted over him.

Major General John Sedgwick, who fell during the war of the rebellion, rendered similar services on the plains, in the defence of the Arrapahoes, at about the same time; and Col. Edward W. Wynkoop, five years later, in behalf of the Cheyennes. This young officer is often spoken of by the Indians as the "Tall Chief that don't lie."

Other officers might be mentioned for similar services, among them Generals Z. Taylor, W. S. Harney, and Alfred H. Terry. The last mentioned, two years ago, with a strong head, heart, and hand, squelched a conspiracy in Montana to exterminate the Crow Indians. Again, the next summer, flying across the plains, and up the Missouri river as fast as steam could carry him, to rescue a Sioux village from the border settlers. He has just been removed from the command of the Department of Dacota to make room for Hancock.

Capt. Silas S. Soule in Colorado, a few years ago, and Lieut. Philip H. Sheridan, in Oregon, ten years since, might also be referred to, in this connection, as drawing their swords in the defense of the Indians and the right.

In the same cause many noble men have used their pens—among them President U. S. Grant, in his recent inaugural; Hon. George W. Manypenny; Wendell Phillips, Esq.; and Col. William A. Phillips, of Kansas.

6. STANZA X.—*St. Bartholomew's Day.*—On St. Bartholomew's day, 24th of August, 1572, during the reign of Charles IX, a massacre of the Huguenots took place in Paris, followed by others in the different cities and provinces of France. Thousands were assassinated. Three officers only—Henride Savoic, Governor of Provence; the Viscount d'Orthez, Governor of Bayonne; and St. Heran, Governor of Auvergue—refused to obey the orders of the king. At the Sand Creek massacre, before referred to, there were three officers who protested against attacking the Indians—Capt. S. S. Soule, Lieuts. Cramer and Baldwin. Capt. Soule was afterward assassinated in Denver, Colorado, for his efforts to save the Indians on the field, and his evidence afterwards. At the massacre of the Wichata there was none to protest—no, not one.—*The (Washington) Sunday Herald.*

LITERARY.

The Woman's Advocate has reached the fifth number. It deserves, and we are glad to learn, meets with liberal encouragement. Each number issued has been a valuable contribution to the cause of equal and impartial freedom for women. *The Advocate* for May presents the following table of contents: "Sister Anne's Vocation," by Nora Perry; "A New Song to an Old Tune," by Frances D. Gage; "An American Vulgarism," by Jane O. DeForest; "To a Sculptor," by Wm. P. Tomlinson; "Woman and the Alphabet," by Louisa J. G. Littlefield; "Opportunity of Development," by M. E. J. Gage; "Harriet Hosmer," by Phebe A. Hanaford; "What is Woman," by Content Whipple; "Woman," W. J. Linton; "Life's Contrasts," M. W. Campbell; "Married Women in Massachusetts," by Lucy Stone; Editorial, Notes, Literary.

We continue to receive subscriptions for *The Woman's Advocate* and THE STANDARD, the two for four dollars per year.

Littell's Living Age, No. 1301, for the week ending May 8th, contains Scottish Characteristics, by a Scotch-Celt, *Frazer's Magazine;* Power of the Mind to Resist Knowledge, *Saturday Review;* Country House on the Rhine, Part XXV, by Berthold Auerbach, author of "On the Heights," etc., translated for *The Living Age* from *Die Presse;* Lettice Lisle, Part VII, *Cornhill Magazine;* Arctic Explorations, *N. Y. Evening Post;* Lanfrey's Napoleon I. *Saint Paul's;* The Wesleys, and their Hymns, *Sunday Magazine;* Robin Gray, *Saturday Review;* First Public Protestant Worship in Spain, *Sunday Magazine;* General Jomini, *Saturday Review;* How to get Canada, *N. Y. Evening Post;* Poor People, from Victor Hugo, *Good Words;* besides short articles, and poetry.

Christ and the Gallows; or Reasons for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, is the title of a forthcoming and a highly interesting work on the subject of Capital Punishment, now nearly ready for the press. It will consist of 350 12mo pages, beautifully bound in cloth, and will be furnished subscribers at $1.50 per copy. Marvin H. Bovee, the author of the work, expects to present an array of facts, statistics and opinions, which, together with a careful analysis of the whole question, will it is believed, render the work an unanswerable argument in favor of the total abolition of the punishment of death.

RECEIVED.

LECTURES ON BIBLICAL TEMPERANCE. By Eliphalet Nott, D.D. With an introduction by Tayler Lewis, L.L.D. 268 pp. London: Trubner & Co.

SALT WATER DICK. Vol. 5 of The Helping Hand Series. By May Mannering. 230 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

SEERS OF THE AGES: Embracing Spiritualism, Past and Present. Doctrines stated and moral tendencies defined. By J. M. Peebles. 376 pp. Boston: William White & Co.

OBITUARY.

EBENEZER TOBIAS BASSETT.

DIED.—At Great Hill, Seymour, Connecticut, on the 22d ult., after a long and painful illness, Ebenezer Tobias Bassett, aged 67 years.

Mr. Bassett was the father of Mr. F. D. Bassett, the newly appointed Minister to Hayti, and was quite generally known and repected in Seymour and the adjoining towns as an intelligent, industrious, worthy man.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DONATIONS.

A Friend,	$5.00
Pistol, donated and sold,	15.00

CONFERENCE OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS.

THE Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania will hold their Seventeenth Yearly Meeting, at Longwood, near Hamorton, Chester County, commencing on Fifth day (Thursday), the 3d of Sixth month (June), 1869, at 10½ o'clock, A. M., and continuing three days.

William J. Potter, minister of the Unitarian Church in New Bedford, Mass., and Mrs. Lucy Stone, of New Jersey, have promised to attend the meeting; and other speakers are confidently expected.

OLIVER JOHNSON,
ANNA MARY MARSHALL, } Clerks.

*** Communications intended for the meeting may be addressed to Isaac Mendenhall, Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF "THE UNIVERSAL PEACE UNION," American Branch, at Dodworth Hall, 806 Broadway, New York, on Friday, May 14th, 1869, at 10½ A. M., 2½ and 7½ P. M., and Saturday, the 15th, at 10 A. M.

The time is peculiarly appropriate for this Covention, in view of the action of President Grant on the Indian Question, the efforts for Disarmament and Arbitration, Equal Rights, Abolition of the Death Penalty, etc., and we trust the friends of peace will assemble in good earnest, and contribute freely of their means.

The following speakers, in addition to the officers and others of the Society, have advised us of their intention to be present:—

Hon. Marvin H. Bovee, Prof. J. K. H. Wilcox, Henry C. Wright, Miss Julia Crouch, James M. Peebles, Giles B. Stebbins.

ALFRED H. LOVE, President, Philadelphia.

FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION.

THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING of the Free Religious Association will take place in Boston, in the coming Anniversary week as follows:

A Business session will be held in Parker Fraternity Hall at 3 P. M., THURSDAY, May, 27th, for hearing Reports, Election of Officers etc.; also to see if the Association will make such verbal changes in its Constitution as are necessary to secure a Legal Incorporation.

On FRIDAY, May 28th, a general Convention with three sessions will be held in Tremont Temple, for Addresses, Essays, and Discussions on questions of special religious interest at this time. Rev. O. B. Frothingham, President of the Association, Ralph Waldo Emerson, David A. Wasson, Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Prof. Wm. Denton, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, Rev. Francis E. Abbot, and Rev. Rowland Connor, are among the speakers positively expected to address the Convention at some one of the sessions.

WM. J. POTTER, Secretary.

1-3t.

STATE TEMPERANCE CONVENTION.

IN pursuance of a resolution of the NEW YORK STATE TEMPERANCE SOCIETY, adopted at its Annual Meeting held in Rochester in January last, notice is hereby given, that a Temperance Convention, to consist of two delegates from each Assembly District in the State, will be held in the City of Syracuse, on Tuesday, the first day of June next, at 12 o'clock, M.

It is expected that the subject of political action in favor of Temperance will come before this Convention for discussion and decision.

In order to secure full representation, it is recommended that the friends of Temperance in each County, without distinction of organization, meet in Convention at the County Seat, on Wednesday, the 19th of May, for the purpose of choosing the delegates and alternates.

Committee.—Lewis H. Clark, E. D. Weller, James I. Bagg, Ira H. Cobb, Henry C. Hooker.

Dated, April 21st, 1869.

FRIENDS OF PROGRESS.

THE Waterloo yearly meeting of Friends of Human Progress will be held in the Junius Meeting House, near Waterloo, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, June 12th and 13th.

Lucy Stone, Charles D. B. Mills, A. M. Powell, and others, are expected to address the meeting. Definite announcement hereafter.

THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY AND PUBLICATION HOUSE will be held in the large Hall of Cooper Institute, on the evening of May 12, 1869, commencing at half-past 7 o'clock.

Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, President of the Society, will preside.

Addresses may be expected from Dr. F. R. Lees, of England, Rev. J. D. Fulton, of Boston, Hon. Henry Wilson, and others.

Singing by the Tremaine Brothers and Pierson.

The Annual Meeting for the election of Officers and the transaction of Business will be held at the Rooms of the Society, 172 William street, on Wednesday afternoon, May 12, at 2 o'clock.

Committee.—J. N. Stearns, A. A. Robbins, T. A. Broner.

CALL FOR A STATE CONVENTION.

To the Colored Men of the State of New York:

BRETHREN—At a meeting of your State Central Committee held at Albany, on the 9th of March, 1869, after mature deliberation it was unan

Miscellaneous Department.

IN THE GARRET.

Four little chests all in a row,
Dim with dust, and worn by time,
All fashioned and filled, long ago,
By children now in their prime.
Four little keys hung side by side,
With faded ribbons, brave and gay,
When fastened there with childish pride,
Long ago, on a rainy day.
Four little names, one on each lid,
Carved out by a boyish hand,
And underneath there lieth hid
Histories of the happy band
Once playing here, and pausing oft
To hear the sweet refrain
That came and went on the roof aloft
In the falling summer rain.

"Meg" on the first lid, smooth and fair,—
I look in with loving eyes,
For folded here, with well known care,
A goodly gathering lies—
The record of a peaceful life,
Gifts to gentle child and girl,
A bridal gown, lines to a wife,
A tiny shoe, a baby curl.
No toys in this first chest remain,
For all are carried away,
In their old age, to join again
In another small Meg's play.
Ah! happy mother, well I know
You hear like a sweet refrain,
Lullabies ever soft and low,
In the falling summer rain.

"Jo" on the next lid, scratched and worn,
And within a motley store
Of headless dolls, of school-books torn,
Birds and beasts that speak no more.
Spoils brought home from the fairy ground
Only trod by youthful feet,
Dreams of a future never found,
Memories of a past still sweet;
Half-writ poems, stories wild,
April letters, warm and cold,
Diaries of a wilful child,
Hints of a woman early old;
A woman in a lonely home,
Hearing like a sad refrain,—
"Be worthy love, and love will come,"
In the falling summer rain.

My "Beth!" the dust is always swept
From the lid that bears your name,
As if by loving eyes that wept,
By careful hands that often came.
Death canonized for us one saint,
Ever less human than divine,
And still we lay, with tender plaint,
Relics in this household shrine.
The silver bell, so seldom rung,
The little cap which last she wore,
The fair, dead Catherine that hung
By angels borne above her door;
The songs she sang, without lament,
In her prison-house of pain,
Forever are they sweetly blent
With the falling summer rain.

Upon the last lid's polished field—
Legend now both fair and true—
A gallant knight bears on his shield,
"Amy," in letters gold and blue.
Within the snoods that bound her hair,
Slippers that have danced their last,
Faded flowers laid by with care,
Fans whose airy toils are past—
Gay valentines all ardent flames,
Trifles that have borne their part
In girlish hopes, and fears, and shames.
The record of a maiden heart,
Now learning fairer, truer spells,
Hearing, like a blithe refrain,
The silver sound of bridal bells,
In the falling summer rain.

Four little chests all in a row,
Dim with dust, and worn by time;
Four women, taught by weal and woe
To love and labor in their prime.
Four sisters, parted for an hour,—
None lost, one only gone before,
Made by love's immortal power,
Nearest and dearest evermore.
O, when these hidden stores of ours
Lie open to the Father's sight,
May they be rich in golden hours,—
Deeds that show fairer for the light!
Lives whose brave music long shall ring
Like a spirit-stirring strain,
Souls that shall gladly soar and sing
In the long sunshine, after rain.

J. M.

—*From the second part of Miss Alcott's "Little Women."*

THE CHEAPNESS OF BEAUTY.

BY HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

We propose now to write an article on the subject of *beauty* as applied to the living-rooms of houses.

We have often seen people who said that they could not afford to make their houses beautiful, who had spent upon them, outside or in, an amount of money which did not produce either beauty or comfort, and which, if judiciously applied, might have made the house quite charming.

We will instance one case. In the inside of houses, we have seen a dwelling looking very bald and bare, when a sufficient sum of money had been expended on one article to have made the whole very pretty. The thing has come about in this way:

We will suppose the couple who own the house to be in the condition in which people generally are after they have built a house—having spent more than they could afford on the building itself, and yet feeling themselves under the necessity of getting some furniture.

"Now," says the housewife, "I must at least have a parlor carpet. We must get that to begin with, and other things as we go on."

She goes to a store to look at carpets. The clerks are smiling and obliging, and sweetly complacent. The storekeeper, perhaps, is a neighbor or friend, and after exhibiting various patterns, he tells her of a Brussels carpet he is selling wonderfully cheap—actually a dollar and a quarter less a yard than the usual price of Brussels, and the reason is that it is an unfashionable pattern, and he has a good deal of it, and wishes to close it off.

She looks at it and thinks it is not at all the kind of carpet she meant to buy, but then it is Brussels, and so cheap! And as she hesitates, her friend tells her that she will find it "cheapest in the end—that one Brussels carpet will outlast three or four ingrains," etc.

The result of all this is, that she buys the Brussels carpet, which, with all its reduction in price, is one-third dearer than the ingrain would have been, and not half so pretty. When she comes home she will find that she has spent, we will say eighty dollars for a very homely carpet, whose greatest merit it is an affliction to remember—namely, that it will outlast three ordinary carpets. And now, because she has bought this carpet, she can not afford to paper the walls or put up any window curtains, and can not even begin to think of buying any pictures.

Now, let us see what eighty dollars could have done for that room. We will suppose, in the first place, she invests in thirteen rolls of wall-paper of a lovely shade of buff, which will make the room look sunshiny in the daytime, and light up brilliantly in the evening. Thirteen rolls of good satin paper, at thirty-seven cents a roll, expends four dollars and eighty-one cents. A maroon bordering, made in imitation of the choicest French style, which can not at a distance be told from it, can be bought for six cents a yard. This will bring the paper to about five dollars and a half; and our friends will give a day of their time to putting it on. The room already begins to look furnished.

Now let us cover the floor with, say, thirty yards of good matting, at fifty cents a yard. This gives us a carpet for fifteen dollars. We are here stopped by the prejudice that matting is not good economy, because it wears out so soon. We humbly submit that it is precisely the thing for a parlor, which is reserved for the reception-room of friends, and for our own dressed leisure hours. Matting is not good economy in a dining-room or a hard-worn sitting-room, but such a parlor as we are describing is precisely the place where it answers to the very best advantage.

We have in mind now one very attractive parlor which has been, both for summer and winter, the daily sitting-room for the leisure hours of a husband and wife, and family of children, where a plain white straw matting has done service for seven years. That parlor is in a city, and our friends are in the habit of receiving visits from people who live upon velvet and Brussels; but they prefer to spend the money which such carpets would cost on other modes of embellishment; and this parlor has often been cited to us as a very attractive room.

And now our friends having got thus far, are requested to select some one tint or color which shall be the prevailing one in the furniture of the room. Shall it be green? Shall it be blue? Shall it be crimson? To carry on our illustration, we will choose green, and we now proceed with it to create furniture for our room. Let us imagine that on one side of the fire-place there be, as there is often, a recess about six feet long and three feet deep. Fill this recess with a rough frame one foot high, and upon the top of the frame have an elastic rack of slats, make a mattress for this, or if you wish to avoid this trouble you can get a nice mattress for the sum of two dollars, made of cane shavings or husks. Cover this with a green English furniture print. The glazed English comes at about twenty-five cents a yard, the glazed French at seventy-five cents a yard, and a nice article of yard-wide French twill (very strong) is from seventy-five to eighty cents a yard.

With any of these cover your lounge. Make two large, square pillows of the same substance as the mattress, and set up at the back. If you happen to have one or two feather pillows that you can spare for the purpose, shake them down into a square shape and cover them with the same print, and you will then have four pillows for your lounge—one at each end and two at the back, and you will find it answers all the purposes of a sofa.

It will be a very pretty thing, now, to cut out what are called lambrikins of the same material as your lounge, to put over the windows, which are to be embellished with white muslin curtains. The cornices to your windows can be simply strips of wood covered with paper to match the bordering of your room, and the lambrikins, made of chintz like the lounge, can be trimmed with fringe or gimp of the same color.

The curtains can be made of plain white muslin, or some of the many styles that come for this purpose. If plain muslin is used, you can ornament them with hems an inch in width, in which insert a strip of gingham or chambray of the same color as your chintz. This will wash with the curtains, without losing its color, or should it fade it can easily be drawn out and replaced.

The influence of white muslin curtains in giving an air of grace and elegance to a room is astonishing. White curtains really create a room out of nothing. No matter how coarse the muslin, so it be white, and hang in graceful folds, there is a charm in it that supplies the want of multitudes of other things.

Very pretty curtain muslin can be bought for thirty-seven cents a yard. It requires six yards for a window.

Now, get your men folk to knock up for you, out of rough, unplaned boards, some square ottoman frames—stuff the tops with just the same material as the lounge, and cover them with the self-same chintz.

Now you have, supposing your selected color to be green, a green lounge in the corner and two green ottomans; you have white muslin curtains, with green lambrikins and borders, and your room already looks furnished. If you have in the house any broken-down arm chair, reposing in the oblivion of the garret, draw it out—drive a nail here and there to hold it firm—stuff and pad, and stitch the padding through with a long upholster's needle, and cover it with the chintz like your other furniture. Presto—you create an easy chair.

Thus can broken and disgraced furniture reappear, and being put into uniform with the general suit of your room, take a new lease of life.

If you want a centre-table, consider this—that any kind of table, well concealed beneath the folds of handsome drapery, of a color corresponding to the general hue of the room, will look well. Instead of going to the cabinet-maker and paying from thirty to forty dollars upon a little, narrow, cold, marble-topped stand, that gives just room enough to hold a lamp and a book or two, just reflect within yourself what a centre-table is made for. If you have in your house a good, broad generous-topped table, take it, cover it with an ample cloth of green broadcloth. Such a cover two and a half yards square, of fine green broadcloth, figured with black, and with a pattern border of grape leaves, has been bought for ten dollars. In a room we wot of it covers a cheap pine table, such as you may buy for four or five dollars any day; but you will be astonished to see how genteel an object this table makes under its green drapery. We set down our centre-table, therefore, as consisting mainly of a nice broadcloth cover, matching our curtains and lounge.

We are sure that any one with "a heart that is humble" may command such a centre-table and cloth for fifteen dollars, and a family of five or six may sit and work, or read, or write around it, and it is capable of entertaining a generous allowance of books and knick-knacks.

You have now your parlor for the following figures:

Wall paper and border,	$5.50
Thirty yards matting,	15.00
Centre table and cloth,	15.00
Muslin for three windows,	6.75
Thirty yards green English chintz, at 25c,	7.50
Six chairs at $2 each,	12.00
Total	$61.75

Subtracted from eighty dollars, which we set down as the price of the cheap, ugly Brussels carpet, we have our whole room papered, carpeted, curtained and furnished, and now we have nearly twenty dollars for pictures. Now for pictures.

You can get Miss Oakley's charming little cabinet picture of

"The Little Scrap-Book Maker" for	$7.50
Eastman Johnson's Barefoot-Boy" (Prang)	5.00
Newman's "Blue-fringed Gentians" (Prang)	6.00
Bierstadt's "Sunset in the Yo-Semite Valley" (Prang)	12.00

Here are thirty dollars' worth of really admirable pictures of our most conscientious American artists, from which you can choose at your leisure. By sending to any leading picture dealer, lists of pictures and prices will be forwarded to you. These chromos, being all varnished, can wait for frames until you can afford them. We have been through this calculation merely to show our readers how much beautiful effect may be produced by a wise disposition of color, and skill in arrangement.

You can, in the same way, make a red-room by using Turkey red for your draperies, or a blue-room by using blue chintz. Let your chintz be of a small pattern, and one that is decided in color.—*Hearth and Home.*

ELEGANCE DOES NOT MAKE A HOME.—I never saw a garment too fine for man or maid; there was never a chair too good for a cobbler or cooper or king to sit in, never a house too fine to shelter the human head. These elements about us, the gorgeous sky, the imperial sun, are not too good for the human race. Elegance fits man. But do we not value these tools of housekeeping a little more than they are worth, and sometimes mortgage a home for the sake of the mahogany we would bring into it? I had rather eat my dinner off the head of a barrel, or dress after the fashion of John the Baptist in the wilderness, or sit on a flock all my life, than consume all myself before I got to a home, and take so much pains with the outside that the inside was as hollow as an empty nut. Beauty is a great thing, but beauty of garments, house, and furniture, is a very tawdry ornament compared with domestic love. All the elegance in the world will not make a home, and I would give more for a spoonful of real hearty love than for whole shiploads of furniture, and all the gorgeousness that all the upholsterers of the world could gather together.

THEODORE PARKER.

GODSENDS.

BY LUCY LARCOM.

Not the windfall makes us rich,
But the slowly ripened fruit,
Full of sun-warmed nectar, which
Drops, a patient need to suit.

Mean is every bauble brought,
Favor of the mean to buy.
Offer us no gift unfraught
With the largess of the sky.

Offer but the breadth of love;
Narrower boon is none at all.
Search for us the deeps above;
Not the soil where earth-worms crawl.

Give the glory of a flower;
Radiant leaf-bough; blooming thorn;
Light that seas and mountains shower;
Rosy cheer of days new-born.

God sends what the true heart brings:
Stranger or familiar hand,
Priest among His holy things,
Only bears the gift He planned.

And the best of all He sends
Is no measured dole, but love;
Is not cumbering goods but friends;
Winged souls with ours to move.

Soon we tire of pleasure's toy;
Flashes o'er us, while we grope,
Glory of remoter joy;
Beckoning of a larger hope:

Far as dreams, yet close at hand;
Worlds unveiled in one soul's bound,—
Riches of the sun-vaults grand
At your threshold may be found.

Learn the fools' gold to despise;
Coinage of heaven's mint to know
In the home-illuming eyes;
In the fireside's quiet glow;

In the roof-tree's timid bud;
Hues that near horizon's wear;
Planets your own sky that stud;
Your own window's breath of air.

Naught but light from loftiest star;
Naught than life more rare or new,
All the real Godsends are
Common as the daily dew.

THE DANGERS OF A MINE—Besides being subjected to accidents of a general nature, such as explosion of inflammable gas, inundations, falls of roof, shaft accidents, etc., the driver is subjected to a particular species of accident. The writer received a broken arm from his horse stumbling against the side of the drift while passing to his head; he had his leg broken by being thrown off the shafts and run over; the life was nearly crushed out of him by being entangled among the wagons in the very limited space of a wagon-road drift; he has been both kicked and bitten by fractious animals. On one occasion his horse became restive while in at the station preparing and coupling a train of loaded cars, when it was necessary to stand at his head in order to pacify him. The animal had never been restive before at this place, where he had stood so often, and there was no visible cause why he should have been so then. A small chip of roof falling caused the writer to look up, when the roof appeared to move. He bounded in one direction, and the poor horse started in another; but the roof caved in, stopped his gallop, and buried him on the spot. Your humble servant escaped by a miracle. The poor animal's ears being close to the roof, he must have heard the cracking noise, the usual notice of a fall. The writer heard nothing till the fall came.—*From "Life in Coal Mines," in Lippincott's Magazine for May.*

THE MANUFACTURE OF PINS.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *New York Evening Post* gives the following graphic account of the manufacture of pins as it is now conducted:

"The pin machine is one of the closest approaches that mechanics have made to the dexterity of the human hand. A small machine, about the size of a lady's sewing machine, only stronger, stands before you. On the back side a light belt descends from the ceiling that drives all the machines, ranged in rows on the floor. On the left side of our machine hangs on a peg a small reel of wire, that has been straightened by running through a compound system of small rollers.

"This wire descends and the end of it enters the machine. This is the food consumed by this snappish, voracious little dwarf. He pulls it in and bites it off by inches, incessantly, one hundred and forty bites to the minute. Just as he seizes each bite a saucy little hammer, with a concave face, hits the end of the wire three taps and 'upsets' it to a head, while he gripes it in a counter-sunk hole between his teeth. With an outward thrust of his tongue he then lays the pin sidewise in a little groove across the rim of a small wheel that slowly revolves just under his nose. By the external pressure of a stationary hoop these pins roll in their places, as they are carried under two series of small files, three in each. These files grow smaller toward the end of the series. They lie at a slight inclination on the points of the pins, and by a series of cams, levers, and springs are made to play 'like lightning.' Thus the pins are pointed and dropped in a little shower into a box. Twenty-eight pounds of pins is a day's work for one of these jerking little automatons. Forty machines on this floor make five hundred and sixty pounds daily. These pins are then polished. Two very intelligent machines reject every crooked pin, even the slightest irregularity of form being detected.

"Another automaton assorts half-a-dozen lengths in as many different boxes, all at once and unerringly when a careless operator has mixed the contents of boxes from various machines. Lastly, a perfect genius of a machine hangs the pins by the head in an inclined platform through as many 'slots' as there are pins in a row on the papers. These converge into the exact space spanning the length of a row. Under them runs the strips of pin-paper. A hand-like part of the machine catches one pin from each of the slots as it falls, and by one movement sticks them all through two corrugated ridges in the paper, from which they are to be picked by taper fingers in boudoirs, and all sorts of human fingers in all sorts of human circumstances. Thus you have its genesis:

"Tall and slender, straight and thin,
Pretty little, useful pin."

LETTER FROM GRACE GREENWOOD.

GRACE GREENWOOD publishes the following racy and characteristic letter in *The Philadelphia Star*:

EDITOR OF THE STAR.—*Sir:* I find in your issue of yesterday the following paragraph:

"Dr. Lippincott (the husband of Grace Greenwood), a fourth-class clerk in the Post-Office Department, was an applicant for the position of General Superintendent in the Post-Office Department, but failed to get the appointment."

During the visit of Mr. Macready to this country, as he was traveling on a Western steamboat, he was pointed out by a waggish clerk, to a rough backwoodsman, as Ole Bull, who was then giving concerts in the West. The great tragedian sat apart, on the deck, wrapped in poetic contemplation and insular dignity; but the tall Missourian strode immediately up to him, and with a startling slap on the shoulder, thus addressed him: "Hello, old hoss! Old Bull! whar's your fiddle?"

The stately actor turned upon him, and, with a "withering look," and in the most tragic tone, replied: "Sir, I am *not* a horse, neither am I a bull, neither have I a fiddle."

In like manner I have to reply that Mr. Lippincott of Philadelphia, "the husband of Grace Greenwood," is not a doctor; neither is he a "fourth-class clerk in the Post-Office Department;" neither has he been "an applicant for the position of General Superintendent of the Post-Office Department;" neither has he failed to get the appointment.

As for the excellent Dr. Lippincott, is it not enough that he should miss of the office to which he aspired, that you must divorce him from his lawful wife, a most estimable lady, and bestow him upon a stranger?

As for us, belonging to another branch of the Lippincott tree, we have applied for no office at Washington, though we have, I will confess, held ourselves open to the proffer of a first-class foreign mission. With slight solicitation we would consent to be "a looker-on in Vienna," though, perhaps, Madrid would be a better point, as our worldly possessions principally consist of certain dilapidated "Castles in Spain." That we missed of Paris was not, we feel assured, because our honored President loved Philadelphia less, bnt Galena more. *A. Curtin* has fallen upon our hopes of St. Petersburg, and if we mourn, it will not be Russian Sables. As for the Court of St. James, it seems "your *Motley* is the only wear."

I think I have some reason to complain of you editors for apparently classing me among the "bigamistic writers of the day," in assigning to me so many amiable consorts. If you would only vary the name occasionally there would be some relief in the variety; but *toujours* Lippincott.

The same disclaimer I now put forth for the benefit of Dr Lippincott must apply to Mr. J. B. Lippincott, the great publisher, and to Gen. Lippincott, late Doorkeeper of the Senate.

They are "all honorable men," doubtless, but they are not my husbands; and I hereby warn all persons against trusting me on their account.

GRACE GREENWOOD.

WASHINGTON, April 21st, 1869.

LESSONS OF SORROW.—Sorrow, sobers us and makes the mind genial. And in sorrow we love and trust our friends more tenderly, and the dead become dearer to us. And just as the stars shine out in the nights, so there are blessed faces that look at us in our grief, though their features were fading from our recollection. Suffering! Let no man dread it too much, because it is better for him, and it will help to make him sure of being immortal. It is not in the bright days, but only in the solemn night, that other worlds are to be seen shining in the long, long distances. And it is in sorrow—the night of the soul—that we see the farthest, and know ourselves natives of infinity and sons and daughters of the Most High!

ASSORTED GEMS.

BY JAMES. M'CARROLL.

THE seasons are but Nature's jewelled zone,
Where, set in changing splendors, we behold,
As though each were a priceless, living stone,
The pearly winter and the emerald spring,
The ruby summer and the autumn's gold,
In the broad ceinture ever varying.
And where the dazzling fingers of the sun,
That fling the tinted shuttles of the light,
Present the jewels to us one by one,
Forever circling and forever bright;
And where, when all the fervid heats are done,
The cool, pale pearl is turned upon our sight,
That we may revel in a new delight,
And to our autumn, spring and summer lays
Add yet one other song of grateful praise.

—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

TRUE eloquence does not consist, as the rhetoricians assure us, in saying great things in a sublime style, but in a simple style; for there is, properly speaking, no such thing as a sublime style, the sublimity lies only in the things; and when they are not so, the language may be turgid, affected, metaphorical, but not affecting.

Do not be troubled because you have no great virtues. God made a million spears of grass where he made one tree. The earth is fringed and carpeted, not with forests but with grasses. Only have enough of little virtues and common fidelities, and you need not mourn because you are neither a hero nor a saint.

MARKS OF A GENTLEMAN.—No man is a gentleman, who, without provocation, would treat with incivility, the humblest of his species. It is vulgarity for which no accomplishment of dress or address can ever atone. Show me the man who desires to make every one around him happy, and whose greatest solicitude is never to give cause of offence to any one, and I will show you a gentleman by nature and practice, though he may never have worn a suit of broadcloth, nor ever heard of a lexicon. I am proud to say for the honor of our species, there are men in every throb of whose heart there is solicitude for the welfare of mankind, and whose every breath is perfumed with kindness.

"THIS is glory, this is renown, this is the noblest good fortune, for a man to exert such an influence that his spirit always gives fresh inspiration; that two persons shall sit in after years, and derive mutual edification from recalling what one who is dead and gone has been the means of establishing."—*Auerbach's "Country House on the Rhine."*

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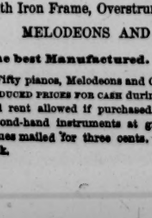

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Scrofulous poison is one of the most destructive enemies of our race. Often, this unseen and unfelt tenant of the organism undermines the constitution, and invites the attack of enfeebling or fatal diseases, without exciting a suspicion of its presence. Again, it seems to breed infection throughout the body, and then, on some favorable occasion, rapidly develop into one or other of its hideous forms, either on the surface or among the vitals. In the latter, tubercles may be suddenly deposited in the lungs or heart, or tumors formed in the liver, or it shows its presence by eruptions on the skin, or foul ulcerations on some part of the body. Hence the occasional use of a bottle of this *Sarsaparilla* is advisable, even when no active symptoms of disease appear. Persons afflicted with the following complaints generally find immediate relief, and, at length, cure, by the use of this *SARSAPARILLA: St. Anthony's Fire, Rose or Erysipelas, Tetter, Salt Rheum, Scald Head, Ringworm, Sore Eyes, Sore Ears*, and other eruptions or visible forms of *Scrofulous* disease. Also in the more concealed forms, as *Dyspepsia, Dropsy, Heart Disease, Fits, Epilepsy, Neuralgia*, and the various *Ulcerous* affections of the muscular and nervous systems.

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LE MINISTRE, Vice-Pres't de la Com. Imperiale, CE. FOREADE.
REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSIONER, T. W. EVANS, M. D., MEMBER OF THE JURY OF THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION, TO THE UNITED STATES. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE. To wit:
DR. HUDSON has received from the IMPERIAL COMMISSION a BRONZE MEDAL and DIPLOMA, for the limbs sent by him, which have been particularly admired, and are in execution unquestionably the most remarkable in the Exposition." (The only Limbs which had the award of the Medal.)
TESTIMONIAL OF THE
CONFERENCE
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SANITARY COMMISSION
AT THE EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE, PARIS, 1867.
"IN THE NAME OF THE CONFERENCE OF ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF WOUNDED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS,
"I have the honor to inform you that a MEDAL has been awarded to you, by the Assembly of Delegates at the Distinguished Seance of the 31st of August, 1867—for the services which you have rendered to the cause of Universal Humanity.
PARIS, September 8th, 1868.
COUNT SERURIER, Commissioner General of the International Exposition, President of the Conference.
COUNT G. de CHABOLY, T. GAUVIY, General Secretaries.
To Monsieur Hudson."
E. D. HUDSON, M D., 696 BROADWAY, N. Y.
Specialty of Mechanical Surgery, and Artificial Legs and Arms.
21—tf

THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.
VOL. XXIX. PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.
AARON M. POWELL, EDITOR.

THE STANDARD advocates entire freedom and immediate enfranchisement for the colored race, as the demand of justice. Chattelism has been abolished, but equal freedom for the colored race has not yet been secured.

Eminent writers contribute weekly to its columns, and the Editor is permitted to announce

WENDELL PHILLIPS

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MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, in a letter accompanying a remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

WAYLAND, MASS., Feb. 1, 1868.

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